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GEORGE GASCOIGNE AND ELIZABETH BACON
BRETTON BOYES GASCOIGNE

A SERIES OF PROBLEMS AND THEIR ANSWERS

By C. T. PROUTY

THE marriage of George Gascoigne and Elizabeth Bacon Bretton Boyes and the various problems arising from this marriage have been the source of considerable discussion and some theorizing.¹ As a result of my researches, I am able to present certain new facts which will, I trust, clarify the general situation and resolve several moot points. The first of these debatable topics is that of the genealogy of Elizabeth Bacon and the exact degree of her relationship to Sir Nicholas Bacon. Second is the date of Elizabeth's marriage to William Bretton. The third is the problem of her marriage to Edward Boyes, concerning whose identity certain facts are here for the first time revealed. Fourth we have the question of the exact date for the marriage between Elizabeth and George Gascoigne. Finally there is the vexatious riddle of the sequence and meaning of various legal documents involving Gascoigne, Elizabeth, and Boyes.

¹ B. M. Ward, "George Gascoigne and His Circle", *Review of English Studies*, January 1926, pp. 32-41. "The Death of George Gascoigne", *R.E.S.*, April 1926, pp. 170-2. *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres*, ed. B. M. Ward, London, 1926, Introduction, p. xvi.

Genevieve Ambrose, "George Gascoigne", *R.E.S.*, April 1926, pp. 166-7. Genevieve Ambrose Oldfield, "New Light on the Life of George Gascoigne", *R.E.S.*, April 1937, pp. 135-8.

Mr. B. M. Ward has put forward a genealogical chart showing what he considers to be the relationship of Elizabeth Bacon to Sir Nicholas.¹ Furthermore, Mr. Ward has demonstrated by means of evidence contained in the will of John Bacon of Hessel (P.C.C. 16 Chaynay)² and in the will of William Bretton (P.C.C. 51 Welles)³ that this John was the father of Elizabeth. However, there is, as far as I know, no proof for Mr. Ward's hypothesis that this John was the son of John, brother to Robert Bacon, the father of Sir Nicholas. Mr. Ward indicates in the pedigree above mentioned that John, the brother of Robert, died in 1538. The will of a John Bacon of Hessel, who names his brother Robert as one of his executors, was proved on September 27, 1538,⁴ and I presume that this is the gentleman Mr. Ward had in mind. An examination of this will, made in 1536, reveals that the son John, whom Mr. Ward would have to be the father of Elizabeth, was under twenty years of age at that time. Now when it is known that Elizabeth married William Bretton in 1545—as I shall later demonstrate—one is tempted to speculate concerning the early marriage ages of both father and daughter. Wonder increases as one realizes that there is no evidence in the wills of the supposed father and son to indicate their relationship.

However, an examination of the wills of Thomas, Edmund, and George Bacon—all of Hessel—together with the will of John, the known father of Elizabeth, shows a definite genealogical relationship which can be placed in its proper position in the main Bacon pedigree.⁵ Chart 1 shows the genealogy of the Bacons of Hessel according to their wills, and contains the reference for each will, the date of proving, and the names of executors, witnesses, supervisors, children, and other relatives. Proof that Edmund, George, and John are sons of Thomas is shown by references in the wills of each of the brothers to land messuages and rents which Thomas in his will bequeathed to his sons Edmund, George, and John. Specifically identification of this latter John, the son of Thomas, with John, the father of Elizabeth, is proved by references in the wills of both father and son to lands at West Wreatham. Thomas bequeathed these lands jointly to John and his brother

¹ B. M. Ward, "George Gascoigne and His Circle", *op. cit.*, p. 38.

² *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres*, *op. cit.*

³ B. M. Ward, "George Gascoigne and His Circle", *op. cit.*, p. 37.

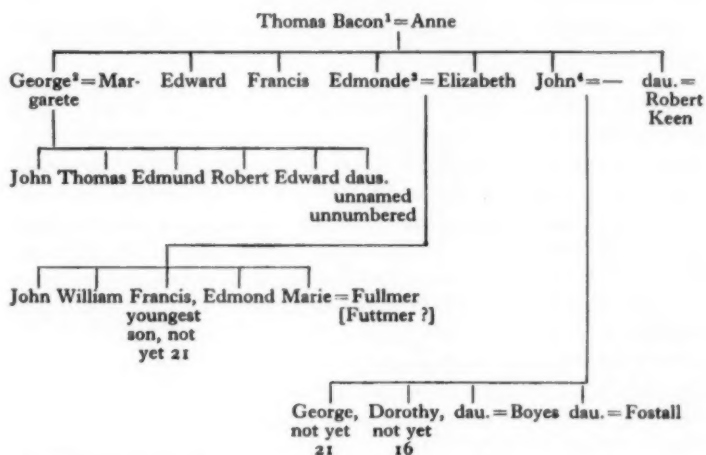
⁴ P.C.C. 10 Crumwell.

⁵ Since I list the reference for each will on Chart 1, I shall refrain from further annotation in the text.

Francis ; John, the father of Elizabeth, refers to these lands as being held jointly with his brother Francis. Therefore it seems reasonable to conclude that Thomas Bacon of Hessel is the paternal grandfather of Elizabeth. Further detailed accounts of land and bequests to prove the general relationships of Chart 1 seem both tedious and beyond the scope of this article. However, certain contributing

BACON PEDIGREE

CHART 1



¹ Thomas Bacon of Heggesset "gentilman." P.C.C. 41 Alen. Will proved "30 June, 1547." Executors: "Edmonde Bacon, John Bacon, & George Bacon my sons." Supervisor: "Nicholas Bacon attorney." Witnesses: Nicholas Bacon, Robert Bacon, Edmonde Bacon, John Bacon, George Bacon.

² George Bacon of Heggesset, gent. P.C.C. 24 Sheffield. Will proved "28 Nov. 1569." Executors: "Thos. Badbie, esq., Thos. Andrewes of Bury gent." Supervisor: "Mr. Robt. Asshefelde of Stow." Witnesses: "Anthony Gosnold, John Bacon, Francis Bacon, Robt. Cottenn, Wm. Burton clerk, vicar of Thurston, Phillip Page of Thurston, Henry Hunte." Mentions "my nevye George Bacon."

³ Edmonde Bacon of Heggesset, "gentilman." P.C.C. 20 Tashe. Will proved "13 Nov. 1553." Executors: "Robert Kene, my bro.-in-law, & John Bacon, my eldest son." Supervisor: "Brother, George Bacon." Witnesses: "Edmund Iermyn, Master Ambrose Iermyn, Robt. Kene." Mentions "my brother in law Robt. Kene."

⁴ John Bacon of Bury St. Edmunds, "gentilman." P.C.C. 16 Chaynay. Will proved "10 May, 1559." Executors: "son Geo. Bacon, brother Geo. Bacon of Heggesset, Suff. gentilman, Thos. Andrewes of Bury 'gentilman.'" Supervisor: "Rt. Hon. Sir Nicholas Bacon knt. Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England." Mentions "my brother George's sons," "my brethren Geo. & Francis."

evidence is shown in the chart itself where are recorded the names of executors, supervisors, and witnesses. For example, Thos. Andrewes of Bury, gent., acts as executor for both John and George Bacon; Robert Keene, called "son-in-law" by Thomas Bacon, is executor for Edmund, who describes him as "brother-in-law"; and Nicholas Bacon is supervisor for Thomas and John.

To locate this segment of the family in the main Bacon pedigree, it is necessary to refer to Davy's Suffolk Pedigrees,¹ wherein are found the two main lines of descent recorded in Chart 2. In the descent from John Bacon by his wife Julian[a], the eldest son of the third generation is Thomas, who has a second wife, Anne, sons Edmund, Thomas, John, and a daughter Anne married to a Robert Keene. Now the Thomas Bacon of Chart 1 also has a wife Anne, sons Edmund and John, and especially a daughter married to a Robert Keene, whose name is mentioned by both Thomas, the father, and Edmund, the brother. From this evidence it seems reasonable to identify the Thomas Bacon of Chart 1 with the Thomas Bacon of Chart 2. Thus it seems that not only the pedigree of Elizabeth Bacon but also the exact degree of her relationship to Sir Nicholas Bacon can at last be ascertained and proved. Elizabeth is no longer a second cousin to Sir Nicholas; she is now a cousin many times removed.

Even though Sir Nicholas and his father Robert are thus but distantly connected to the Hessel branch of the family, we can see evidence in Chart 1 to indicate a friendship much closer than the distant ties of kinship. Thomas had as supervisor of his estate "Nicholas Bacon, attorney," and as one of his witnesses "Robert Bacon." Later "Sir Nicholas Bacon knt. Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England" is supervisor of the estate of John Bacon. This close contact with the Lord Keeper proved valuable to Elizabeth when, after the death of her husband William Bretton, she became involved in the legal difficulties of her subsequent marriages.

Mr. Ward conjectured from the Inquisition Post Mortem on William Bretton that Elizabeth married him *circa* 1550.² Actually this marriage took place five years earlier, for Boyd's Marriage Register shows that the wedding occurred at Hessel in 1545.³ This new fact is not only valuable because it gives us exact knowledge but

¹ British Museum, Add. MS. 19,116, folio 23.

² B. M. Ward, "George Gascoigne and His Circle", *op. cit.*, p. 37.

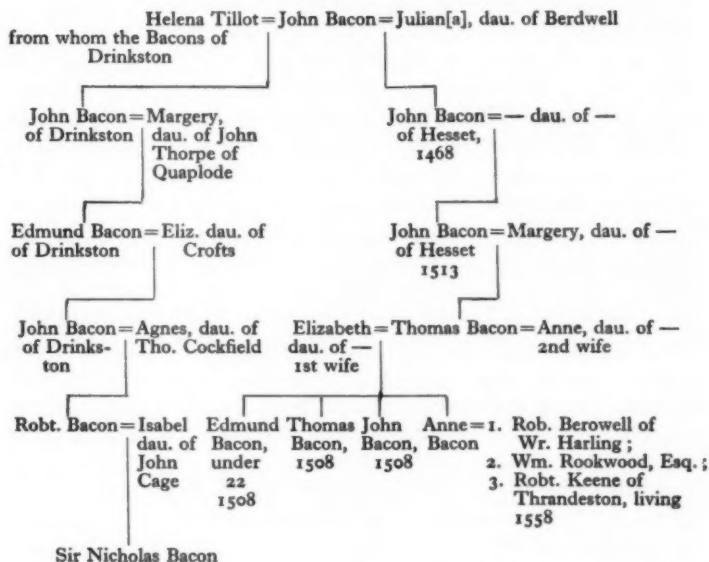
³ *Boyd's Marriage Register*, ed. Percival Boyd, Society of Genealogists, folio 106.

also because it aids us in following the pedigree as I have noted above.

BACON OF HESSET

CHART 2

(Davy: Suffolk Pedigrees, B.M., Add. MS. 19,116.)



William Bretton died January 12, 1558/9,¹ and left Elizabeth quite wealthy. Soon either her money or her beauty found her another husband, for, as Mr. Ward has pointed out, the will of John Bacon² and the Inquisition Post Mortem on William Bretton³ indicate that Elizabeth had married Edward Boyes by April 7, 1559. John Bacon in his will speaks of his "daughter Boyes" and bequeaths "to Mr. Boyes my son-in-law 2 angels to make them rings." It may be pure speculation, but perhaps John had some doubts as to the circumstances of this marriage and therefore thought that "rings" would make the union more binding. Be that as it may, the

¹ B. M. Ward, "George Gascoigne and His Circle", *op. cit.*, p. 37.

² *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres*, *op. cit.*, Intro., p. xvi.

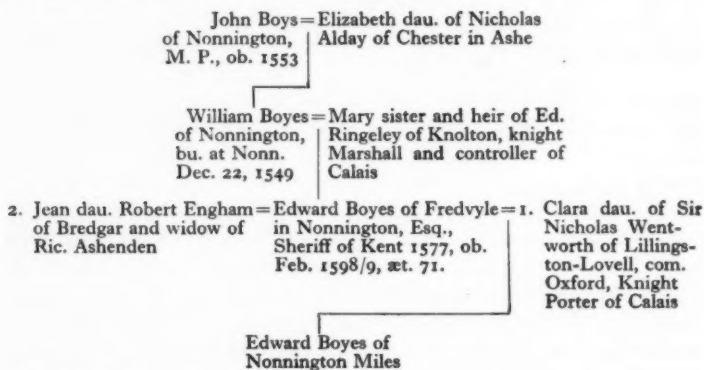
³ B. M. Ward, "George Gascoigne and His Circle", *op. cit.*, p. 37.

marriage is later described by Elizabeth's own children in this fashion :

That one Edward Boyes of Nonnington in the county of Kent by and under colour of a pretended marriage solemnised between the said Edward and the said Elizabeth . . . hath had received and gathered into his hands . . . divers great sums of money.¹

This hitherto unknown discussion of the marriage is from a Chancery Bill brought by the Bretton children against Edward Boyes. Not only does this Bill make clear the general marriage problem, but also it tells us that Edward Boyes came from Nonnington in Kent. Hitherto nothing has been known about Elizabeth's second husband.

The clue of Kent and particularly that of Nonnington lead to the various genealogical studies of Kent,² where there are recorded numerous Boyes families, but only one family of the town of Nonnington. In these various families there are several Edwards who lived during the sixteenth century ; however, there is only one Edward Boyes of the Nonnington family who lived during the sixteenth century and who was of an age to have contracted a marriage in 1558/9, and herewith I give his pedigree.³



¹ P.R.O. Chanc. Proc. Eliz. Series II., 27/51.

² *The Visitations of Kent 1530-1, 1574.* The Publications of the Harleian Society, vol. 74, London, 1923. *The Visitations of Kent 1574, 1592.* Pub. Harleian Soc., vol. 75, London, 1924. *The Visitations of Kent 1619.* Pub. Harleian Soc., vol. 42, London, 1898. Berry, *County Genealogies Kent.*

³ Compiled from *Visitations of Kent 1619, op. cit.*, pp. 39-40; *Visitations of Kent 1574, 1592, op. cit.*, pp. 123-24; Berry, *op. cit.*, pp. 478-9. The various sons of each generation are given in the above sources and among them is no Edward of Nonnington except those noted. The son, Edward Boyes, Miles, was born in 1558, as is known from the Inquisition Post Mortem on Edward Boyes noted below.

That this onetime Sheriff of Kent had certain good connections and that he achieved a position of some eminence are evinced, I think, by the pedigree. Furthermore, the Inquisition Post Mortem on his estate,¹ which I have examined, shows that Boyes had managed on more than one occasion to gather into his hands "divers great sums of money," for the property therein noted is considerable. Whether or no these later transactions were honourable, the Bretton children depict him on one occasion as the deep-dyed villain striving to cheat little children out of their lawful inheritances.

But before we consider the Chancery Bill it is necessary to solve one more problem: the exact date of the marriage between Gascoigne and Elizabeth. The Christ Church Newgate register lists under the year 1562, the following:

23 Nov. George Gasconye and Elizabeth Brytayne.

Although Miss Ambrose has discussed quite fully the problem presented by this register,² a brief recapitulation is necessary fully to understand the question. The original year dates of Births and Marriages in the register have been crossed out and in certain year groups post-dated by three years and in other groups by four years. Thus the original entry for the Gascoigne-Bretton marriage is 1558 and has been altered to 1562. As this latter date is untenable for many reasons, some of which Miss Ambrose has noted and others of which will be made clear as I proceed, the actual date of the ceremony has been hitherto unknown. This question was, however, answered some years ago by Mr. J. Challenor Smith, whose article³ on the Harleian Society's reprint of the Christ Church Register has seemingly escaped the notice of those interested in Gascoigne research. Mr. Smith, examining the problem of the date change, says:

In the marriages the year 1538 in the original has been altered by a later hand to 1542. . . . But a comparison of the register with the Harleian Society's volumes of marriage licences amply proves that although most of the dates of marriages were incorrect as they originally stood in MS., they are all wrong as altered.

Mr. Smith continues with an examination of each year group, and compares the marriage entries with the licence entries. By this

¹ P.R.O. Chancery I. P.M. Series II.; 250/85.

² Genevieve Ambrose, "George Gascoigne", *op. cit.*, p. 167.

³ J. Challenor Smith, "The Harleian Society's Reprint of the Christ Church Newgate Register", *The Genealogist*, vol. XII, pp. 223-225.

method he determines the date error for each particular year group. For the years from 1557 to 1584 as recorded in the register, he concludes that the entries should be antedated one year, i.e. 1562 in the register should be 1561. Therefore on the basis of this highly conclusive evidence, George Gascoigne married Elizabeth Bretton on November 23, 1561.

Even though this date be now ascertained, there remains the question of how Elizabeth was legally able to marry Gascoigne since, as has been noted, she was already married to Boyes. Miss Ambrose has solved the dilemma by maintaining that the marriage to Boyes never took place.¹ Other investigators do not seem to have attempted an answer. However, the new evidence of the Chancery Bill, noted above, seems to settle the question by revealing what actually did happen ; so I shall quote the pertinent sections of the Bill.

Mulrowe (24 Nov. ?) 1566
[Date of filing in another hand]

To the right honourable Sir Nicholas Bacon knight, Keeper of the great seal of England.

Right humbly complaining sheweth unto your honourable Lordship your humble and daily orators Richard Britten, Nicholas Britten and Thamar Britten the children of William Britten late of London gent. deceased [Here follows a recital of the will of William Bretton and his various legacies] . . . So it is if it please your good Lordship that one Edward Boyes of Nonnington in the county of K[e]nt gent. by and under colour of a pretended marriage solemnised between the said Edward and the said Elizabeth mother to your Lordships said orators and executrix of the said last will and Testament of their said late father hath had received and gathered into [hi]s hands of and from the said creditors divers great sums of money amounting to three hundred pounds and more and all or the greatest part of the said parcels of plate jewels apparel and household stuff and other legacies before bequeathed remaining in the custody of the said Elizabeth And notwithstanding that the said Edward Boyes hath been sithence by due order and sentence in form of law divorced from the said Elizabeth mother to your Lordship's said orators . . . And hath appealed from the said s[ente]nce and in his said appeal hath been eft-soones by due order and sentence in form of law divorced from the said Elizabeth and adjudged as guilty in his said complaint of appeal and license given by the said sentence to the said Elizabeth to marry again at her election and disposition. And notwithstanding that he hath been by divers and sundry means required to redeliver the said sums of money and the said parcels of plate jewels apparel and household stuff and legacies

¹ Genevieve Ambrose, "George Gascoigne", *op. cit.*, p. 167.

aforesaid into the safe custody of the said Elizabeth as executrix of the will or into the safe custody of the right worshipful Thomas Seckford one of the Masters of Requests and nominated and app[oin]ted to be supervisor of the said last will and testament . . . In tender consideration whereof and forasmuch as now there is none appeal strife demand or other question hanging or depending between the said Edward and Elizabeth whereby he might have or pretend any colour to detain the same sums of money or parcels of plate jewels apparel and household stuff . . .

Bound with this Bill are several other documents: first, the inventory of those items in the estate of William Bretton which the children are trying to recover from Boyes; second, the answer of Boyes; finally, the rejoinder of the original complainants. In his answer, Boyes maintains that the children are not yet of the age designated in their father's will as the time for them to receive their legacies, and that on this account they have no basis of legal action; furthermore Boyes alleges that the children are not of legal age and in consequence have no right to bring suit. He adds that the suit has been urged on by George Gascoigne merely to cause him "great vexation." The rejoinder of the children practically calls Boyes a liar, and then recapitulates the whole story as in the original Bill.¹

It is, I think, obvious from the evidence in the selection which I have quoted that Elizabeth actually did marry Boyes, for unless there had been such a marriage and unless this marriage had been valid, no decree of divorce could have been issued. Had there been no real marriage between them, the courts would have decided on this question of fact, and the decree in such a case would have recognized that no valid ceremony had been performed. It seems, therefore, that the phrasing "by and under colour of a pretended marriage" reflects the opinion that there was something of a deceitful or questionable nature concerning the means by which "one Edward Boyes" lured Elizabeth into the holy estate of matrimony. Elizabeth must have been of such an opinion, and probably she thought the ceremony itself invalid, for otherwise she would not have married Gascoigne, unless, like Fielding's Huncamunca, she joyfully contemplated bigamy with, "First I married him; now I'll marry you."

¹ The various documents which I have found and which relate to this problem are P.R.O. Chanc. Decree, vol. xxxv., fo. 172, and P.R.O. Chanc. Proc., Series II., 202/7. The decree permits Gascoigne and Elizabeth to join with the children and thus jointly to prosecute their cases to recover from Boyes the estate of William Bretton. The Chanc. Proc. is a Bill brought by these new complainants.

No sooner had she married, however, than a dispute arose. The entry in Machyn's diary has been noted before, but I think it worth repeating.

The xxx day of September [1562] . . . the same day at night between viii and ix was a great fray in Redcrosse Street between two gentlemen and their men for they did marry one woman and divers were hurt ; these were their names Master Boyse [Boyes] and Master Gaskyn [Gascoigne] gentlemen.¹

Although recorded physical encounters between the two "husbands" did not occur until September, legal encounters had begun some time before. On October 1, 1562, there was recorded in the Chancery Decree Book a Memorandum² which, although it is mentioned in a later proceeding quoted by Mr. Ward,³ has not hitherto been considered. I shall quote this neglected Memorandum because it has a most important bearing on the problem.

primo die Octobris 1562

G. George Gascoyne pl. } Memorandum upon the hearing and examina-
Edward Boys def. } tion of the causes and matters in controversy
between the said parties before the Master of the Rolls Mr. Recorder of
London and D. Yale, to whom the same was committed and upon their
report made unto the L. Keeper of the great seal of England, It is this
day ordered by the said L. Keeper and by thassent of both the said parties
in manner and form following / First that the said George Gascoyne and
Elizabeth Brytaine alias Gascoyne alias Boys shall immediately renounce
and relinquish his or her appeal depending before the Queen's Majesty's
Delegates assigned by commission out of the Court of Chancery. And
that the matter in law shall proceed without any delay to be sought by the
said Gascoyne and Elizabeth and shall be tried between this and the feast
of all Saints next by Mr. D. Weston with the assistance of Mr. D. Lewis
and Mr. D. Yale, and that both the said parties and the said Elizabeth
shall stand to their sentence and judgment without any further appeal./
In the mean season the possession of the house in London with certain
Goods as hereafter in this order is expressed shall remain with the said
Elizabeth / And if by the means or delay of the said Gascoyne or of the
said Elizabeth or for want of bringing in the proofs the said matter in law
shall not be decided between this and the feast of all Saints as is aforesaid,
then the possession of the said house with the said goods shall be restored
to the said Bois / And it is further ordered with like assent that so much
household stuff and goods as were of the said Elizabeth before marriage
with the said Boys or gascoyne remaining in the said house or in any other

¹ F. E. Schelling, *The Life and Writings of George Gascoigne*. Univ. of Pennsylvania Publications, Series in Philology, Literature and Archæology, vol. II, no. 4, p. 9. Prof. Schelling also shows why this is to be identified with the poet.

² P.R.O. Chancery Decrees and Orders, vol. xxvii, fos. 122^v-123^r.

³ B. M. Ward, "The Death of George Gascoigne", p. 171.

place as shall be by the said Mr. of the Rolls Mr. Recorder and Mr. Yale thought meet and necessary to be assigned unto the said Elizabeth, shall be delivered unto her upon sufficient surety that the same shall be truly answered and redelivered unto him whose wife she shall be adjudged (to be) [*struck through*] by order of law upon this appeal now pending / And that the rest of the said stuff and goods shall remain in the hands and custody of indifferent men such as the said Mr. of the Rolls Mr. Recorder and Mr. Yale shall assign, until such time as the matter and controversy between the said parties and the said Elizabeth shall be decided and determined upon the said appeal. / And thereupon the same goods together with the possession of the said house to be delivered unto him, unto whom the said Elizabeth shall be adjudged wife / In the mean season It is ordered that neither the said George Gascoyne nor Edward Boys shall have access or shall at any time repair unto the said Elizabeth, nor she to any of them. / And as touching the rents and profits of the lands of the said Elizabeth now due or to be due It is further ordered that the same shall be brought and delivered into the Rolls / and that thereof so much shall be assigned & delivered unto the said Elizabeth for the maintenance and sustentation of herself and her children, as shall be thought meet by the said Mr. of the Rolls Mr. Recorder and Mr. Yale, The rest of the said rents & profits there to remain to be delivered unto him whose wife the said Elizabeth shall be adjudged to be upon the said appeal determined / And it is further ordered that all such goods and chattels which were the proper goods of the said George Gascoyne, as have come to the hands or possession of the said Edward Boys, he the same Edward shall forthwith redeliver unto the said George / And likewise that all such goods & chattels which were the proper goods of the said Edward Boys, as have come to the hands or possession of the said George Gascoyne or Elizabeth he the same George shall forthwith redeliver unto the said Edward / And it is further ordered by like assent that as touching the jointure which the said Elizabeth might claim out of the lands of the said Edward Boys / if she should not be adjudged his wife, and touching such [*Altered from "the"*] lands as the said Edward standeth bounden for the payment of certain legacies and other things towards the performance of Mr. Brytaines will and touching all matters of variance which might or shall rise or grow between the said parties not comprised in this order, the said George and Edward shall stand to and abide the order and determination of the said Mr. of the Rolls Mr. Recorder and Mr. D. Yale.

/ powle / .

Since this Memorandum and Order is dated October 1, 1562, and since the Michaelmas Term of Court for 1562 did not begin until October 9,¹ it is therefore obvious that proceedings must have been instituted either in the Easter or the Trinity Term of the same

¹ E. A. Fry, *Almanack for Students of English History*, Phillimore and Co., London, 1915, p. 137.

year. But before examining the evidence of this Memorandum it will be well to conclude the story as it appears in legal documents. Mr. Ward has noted and partially printed a Chancery Petition¹ which Gascoigne brought before the Lord Keeper between February 13 and March 25, 1562/3.² The importance of this document seems to have been overlooked, for in it Gascoigne not only complains of the delay in settling the matter according to the terms of the Chancery Decree, but also reveals that he has been sued by Boyes on an action of Debt. This strange turn of events is the result of the delay and of a bond which Boyes and Gascoigne signed to each other. An agreement and bond for £500 was made between the two to secure their faithful observance of that part of the Decree which forbade either of them to repair to Elizabeth. When the matter was not settled by the Feast of All Saints, Gascoigne feeling that "the said Edward Boyes . . . by the strictness of the said words in the said order and thinking all his lifetime to keep your said Orator separated from his wife by the delays and means of his Counsel" nevertheless "made his repair to the said Elizabeth." Thereupon Boyes brought action³ to recover the £500 of the bond because Gascoigne had broken the letter of the agreement. In this Boyes is consistent with his policy in the suit of the Bretton children; in both instances he bases his argument on technicalities. To remedy this obviously unjust prosecution Gascoigne beseeches Sir Nicholas to grant him a writ of injunction against his persecutor so that the £500 may not be forfeit. This request was granted, as is shown by a Chancery Decree which I have found,⁴ dated May 24, 1563.

Now that this story has been told, we may examine the significance of the above documents in the light of the evidence found in the

¹ B. M. Ward, "The Death of George Gascoigne", *op. cit.*, p. 171.

² P.R.O. Chanc. Proc., Series II., 78/55. Ward quotes only in part, and so I give the original reference of the document which I examined. The date must be 1562/3, for although the date of swearing on the document is 1562, the Petition refers to a suit brought by Boyes against Gascoigne, and the date of the documents in this latter action is Easter Term 1563. Now the Easter Term began on April 28, 1563; so we must conclude that (1) the date of swearing is incorrect, or (2) Boyes filed suit between the end of the Hilary Term (February 12, 1563) and the beginning of the Easter Term. The latter seems more logical. Therefore we can date the petition as between February 13 and March 24, 1562/3.

³ Coram Rege Roll (K.B. 27) 1206 (East. 5. Eliz.) 1563. Mrs. Genevieve Ambrose Oldfield mentions this action in a recent article (*R.E.S.*, XIII, 137), but she gives the reference in a footnote to a series of Chancery Proceedings. More important is the fact that Mrs. Oldfield attributes this suit to the dispute over the Bretton children's inheritance. There is no evidence in the documents to substantiate this assertion.

⁴ P.R.O. Chanc. Decrees and Orders, vol. XXVII, fo. 490.

Chancery Bill of the Bretton children. This latter Bill says that Elizabeth had been divorced from Boyes, that Boyes had appealed, and that not only had the sentence been upheld but Boyes had been adjudged as guilty in his appeal. Further, by this last sentence licence was given to Elizabeth to marry again at her election and disposition. The Memorandum of October 1, 1562 refers to matters in dispute before the Mr. of the Rolls (William Cordell),¹ Mr. Recorder of London, and D. Yale. It orders that an appeal which Elizabeth and Gascoigne had made to the Queen's Majesty's Court of Delegates, assigned by Commission out of the Chancery, be dropped and commits the whole question of the marriage problem to three new commissioners: D. Weston, D. Lewis, and D. Yale. Finally, Gascoigne, in the Chancery Petition mentioned in the previous paragraph, refers to D. Weston, D. Lewis, and D. Yale as the Court of the Arches.

These various pieces of evidence may be reconstructed in the following manner. Since the Memorandum committed the marriage problem to D. Weston, D. Lewis, and D. Yale, whom Gascoigne describes as the Court of the Arches, it seems that commissioners appointed out of Chancery to hear a marriage question, always a matter of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, constituted a Court of the Arches. Therefore, the Master of the Rolls, Mr. Recorder of London, and D. Yale to whom the marriage problem had been committed, according to the Memorandum, were a first Court of the Arches. They must have decided in favour of Boyes, since George and Elizabeth are the appellants to the Queen's Majesty's Court of Delegates, an ecclesiastical court of appeal.² This appeal was ordered to be dropped and the new group, consisting of D. Weston, D. Lewis, and D. Yale were appointed a second Court of the Arches to decide the matter. Their decision was unfavorable to Boyes and he appealed, but to no avail. Elizabeth was divorced from Boyes and given licence to marry again. The necessity of marrying again is, I think, evinced by the preceding facts, for on November 23, 1561, Elizabeth was the lawful wife of Edward Boyes and her marriage to George Gascoigne was therefore illegal. In view of this conclusion

¹ Wm. Dugdale, *Origines Juridicales*, London, 1680, p. 91.

² M. S. Giuseppi, *A Guide to the Manuscripts Preserved in the Public Record Office*. H.M. Stationery Office, London, 1923, vol. 1, p. 292. The problem of procedure in the Ecclesiastical Courts is one concerning which no other evidence seems available. These courts were of recent origin, and their powers were undefined. The problem is further complicated by the seeming absence of all records of the Courts for this period.

Elizabeth and George must have had the ceremony performed anew. Where and when such a marriage was performed is at present unknown, but it can be dated between May 1563, the date of the Chancery Decree preventing Boyes from prosecuting his action of Debt, at which time matters in law were still in process, and November 1566, the date of the Bretton Bill which states that there was no other strife or appeal pending between Elizabeth, Gascoigne, and Boyes. Thus the story of the marital difficulties of Elizabeth Bacon Bretton Boyes Gascoigne seems at last to be somewhat clarified.

THE FIRST QUARTO VERSION OF *ROMEO AND JULIET*, II. vi. AND IV. v. 43 ff.

BY HARRY R. HOPPE

MOST of the Q1 text of *Romeo and Juliet* parallels Q2 fairly closely, but the marriage-scene and the lamentations over the supposedly dead Juliet are almost totally different. Editors and commentators have generally regarded the marriage-scene (II. vi.) either as a note-taker's or hack poet's efforts to concoct something resembling Shakespeare's original, or as remains of Shakespeare's first draft.¹ Professors Pollard and Wilson, on the basis of their double-revision theory, regard it as a remnant of a pre-Shakespearian play, which Shakespeare had not yet reworked.² F. G. Hubbard also explains it as a part of an earlier play.³ More recently, Dr. B. A. P. van Dam,⁴ noting that certain pages of Q2 have been printed, wholly or partly, from Q1, has advanced the explanation that both versions of II. vi. are parts of Shakespeare's original scene, Q1 here being a text shortened by adapter's cuts and the Q2 text consisting of the lines omitted by the adapter, which a compositor, setting up from MS. plus a copy of Q1, had failed to incorporate with the Q1 text through inattention or through misunderstanding the purpose of the vertical marginal lines commonly used in dramatic MSS. to indicate deletion. The present article will offer evidence that II. vi. and IV. v. 43 ff. of the Q1 text can be explained as an actor-reporter's attempt to reconstruct a text for parts of the play that he was not immediately familiar with.

There is good reason to suppose that many omissions in Q1 are adapter's abridgments. Thus, in the opening scene of the drama, the last twenty-two lines, containing Benvolio's advice that Romeo "examine other beauties," are omitted, and the omission

¹ See Furness Variorum edition for summaries of these views.

² "'The Stolen and Surreptitious' Shakespearian Texts," *T.L.S.*, Jan.-Aug., 1919, esp. p. 434.

³ *The First Quarto of Shakespeare's "Romeo and Juliet"* (U. of Wisconsin Studies), 1924, pp. 26 ff.

⁴ "Did Shakespeare Revise *Romeo and Juliet*?" *Anglia*, 1927, vol. 51, pp. 39 ff. See also the same writer's *William Shakespeare: Prosody and Text*, 1900, pp. 412-16.

can be explained as being made "because the same two characters discuss almost the same topic more briefly at the end of the next scene."¹ Furthermore, the omission of the dialogue between the servants at the beginning of I. v. can be explained as occurring not only because their conversation does not advance the dramatic action but because the excision reduces the number of supernumerary actors who in a small troupe might be more needed elsewhere in the scene to take part as guests. Other passages may have been deleted because they were waste verbiage: Lady Capulet's conceit comparing Paris to a book (I. iii. 79-94),² a portion of Friar Lawrence's disquisition on herbs (II. iii. 9-14) and of his remonstrances with Romeo (III. iii. 118-34), and others of the same sort.

There is, however, another fact that we must consider in conjunction with omitted passages: that is the great profusion of anticipations and recollections to be found throughout the First Quarto text. I have already noted over 160—of which twenty or so are doubtful or uncertain—and more can doubtless be found.³ Many of these are particularly important because they come from passages that have every appearance of being stage-adapter's cuts. For example, Q1 gives only the first two lines of Benvolio's description of the street brawl (I. i. 113-22), a speech that is especially susceptible to abridgment because it relates events just observed by the audience, and the absence of the remainder suggests the adapter's hand. Yet we find "While we (Q1, *they*) were interchanging thrusts and blows," I. 120, used in Q1 at III. i. (1,179), where Benvolio again describes a street fight. In II. iv., lines 205-29 of the conversation between Romeo and the Nurse, a passage that does not advance the action or convey new information, are deleted entirely from Q1, but a part of the Nurse's speech, "Paris is the properer man," appears as a recollection in the next scene, "he is not a proper man," II. v. (996). If this sentence was reported, we have good reason to presume the rest of the omitted dialogue was known to the reporter. Act II, Scene v, provides several examples: all of Juliet's speech, II. 21-4, is omitted from Q1; but we find most of the first line, "O, Lord, why

¹ Alfred Hart, *Shakespeare and the Homilies*, 1934, pp. 126 ff.

² Line-numbering is that of the Globe ed., except where Q1 has passages without any counterpart in Q2, in which case line-references, arabic figures in parentheses, are to the reprint of Q1 in the Furness Variorum ed. Spelling and punctuation of quotations have been modernized.

³ For instance, I have observed half a dozen more since preparing this article.

look'st thou sad ? " cropping up in III. ii. (1,208), showing that part at least of this speech was once spoken on the stage. The Nurse's speech, ll. 49-53, also appears to be a clean deletion, until glancing back earlier in the scene we find a fragment of l. 51 following l. 26 (992-3) in Q1 and a summary of ll. 49-50 filling out her praise of Romeo's physical charms (998-9); so too with Juliet's two-line reply to the Nurse, the second line of which is anticipated earlier in Q1, at the Nurse's entrance (986-7).

In the next act, the reduction of Juliet's invocation to Night (III. ii. 1-33) to four lines is a very likely sort of abridgment, the speech having little dramatic value; but the words "To Phoebus' mansion" (Q2 *lodging*) in the second line look suspiciously like an anticipation of "O, I have bought the mansion of a love" in l. 26. We may also suspect the deliberate omission of III. ii. 43-51,¹ with its strained punning on *eye*, *aye* and *I*; nevertheless, we find the first two lines of this speech occurring earlier in Q1 (1,212, 1,214) as two separate speeches. Another apparent excision is the omission of the last two lines of Capulet's speech to Paris, III. iv. 1-7, but they appear intact in I. v. (496-7), "I promise you, but for your company, I would have been abed an hour ago." The absence of IV. i. 99-103, 106-10, 112-20 also suggests a skilful cut—yet we find recollections of ll. 109 and 112 in IV. v. (1,875, 1,877). The Friar's closing speech in this same scene is missing too, but two of its three lines are summarized in Q1 as an anticipation ("I'll send in haste to Mantua to thy Lord") in his preceding speech. Coming to the last scene of the play, we find two more apparent cuts accounted for by anticipations, one from the same scene, the other from the previous scene. The words of the Third Watchman, v. iii. 184-6, are omitted, but the second line of the speech, "We took this mattock and this spade from him," is anticipated by the Friar's words in v. ii. (1,984-5), "... get me presently A spade and mattock." A few lines farther (v. iii. 195-7) the First Watchman's speech is omitted, but parts of ll. 195-6 appear about fifteen lines earlier in Q1 (2,102-3), where the Friar has anticipated the words in a very similar passage.

These are all the anticipations and recollections that I have noted which relate to "cut" passages, but there are many others showing that omitted lines were really spoken. Peter's words, "You know

¹ J. M. Robertson, *Shakespeare Canon*, III. 137, regarded these two omissions as adapter's cuts.

my tool is as soon out as another's . . ." in II. iv. (950-51) make it likely that Gregory said "Draw thy tool," which is missing from Q1, I. i. 37. Mercutio's nonsensical muddling of *spinners' webs* for *spinners' legs* and *lawyer's lap* for *courtier's nose* in the Queen Mab speech, I. iv. (347, 360), shows that II. 61 and 73 were originally delivered. The same character's use of the Nurse's words "Come, let's away" in place of "Come, shall we go" at II. i. 41 suggests the reporter's acquaintance with the correct version of the Nurse's speech at the end of I. v. ("Come, let's away; the strangers all are gone") where Q1 has "Come, your mother stays," etc. In II. iv. (947, 953) the Nurse's "every Jack," "scurvy Jack" for "every knave," "scurvy knave" make it a justifiable inference that the omitted phrase, "and twenty such Jacks," II. iv. 160, was also spoken on the stage. Equally interesting is a line from the Q1 text of Benvolio's description of the fight between Mercutio and Tybalt: Q1, "Which Romeo seeing, called 'Stay, gentlemen,'" III. i. (1,175). In II. 89-93 of Q2 Romeo speaks five lines of remonstrance to the duellists, but the Q1 text gives him a shortened speech resembling only two, II. 89 and 93. Benvolio's "Stay, gentlemen" suggests that I. 90, "Gentlemen, for shame, forbear this outrage," was uttered in the acted version that the actor was reporting. That III. ii. 88 and III. iii. 139 were also spoken is evident from their appearance in II. v. (989-90) and V. i. (1,958), the latter somewhat altered through confusion with the line that properly belonged at this point. The existence of several other missing lines is possibly evidenced through one-word anticipations within the same speeches: for example *abide* for *stay* in I. i. 218 reveals that the next line, "Nor bide th'encounter of assailing eyes," was actually spoken¹; *kisses* for *blessing* in III. iii. 37 may foreshadow I. 39, "Still blush as thinking their own *kisses* sin"; and *cheerful* for *lightly* in V. i. 3 may anticipate I. 5, "Lifts me above the ground with *cheerful* thoughts."

At first sight the occurrence of such anticipations and recollections showing the reporter's acquaintance with certain lines omitted from their proper places points to the conclusion that the lines were in the stage-version which he was reporting, and doubtless it is a valid enough conclusion for the rather miscellaneous passages last cited. But for the seemingly abridged passages a different and slightly more complicated hypothesis may fit better.

¹ Such an error may be due to the compositor as well.

Perhaps the reporter (or reporters) had once acted in a full-length version that represented the drama substantially in its Q2 form; subsequently he had participated in a shortened version. When he came to report the play, he tried to reconstruct it in its complete form, but he could recall vividly only the shortened tragedy he had recently taken part in, the passages omitted from the longer version surviving occasionally as tags imbedded elsewhere in the text, usually where the context or situation was similar. As to the abridged portions, he would attempt to fill them out from his misty recollection of them as once spoken, utilizing and mingling, more or less unconsciously, scraps of the deleted line and of passages elsewhere in this play or in others; and when these sources failed, resorting to paraphrase or summary of the general sense in verse of his own making. As we shall see, this process manifests itself elsewhere in the Q1 version of the play.

Such re-employment and rephrasing of scraps of the play is frequent throughout the Q1 text; altogether I have observed about thirty occurrences. Thus in II. v. (1,013) the Nurse says, "And frame a 'scuse that you must go to shrift," which has no counterpart in Q2, but is manifestly inspired by a line spoken by Romeo, II. iv. 191-2, "Bid her devise Some means to come to shrift this afternoon." In III. i. (1,125-6) we find "for the first and second cause," a repetition of II. iv. 25-6, ". . . of the first and second cause." There is an especially interesting example of this process in III. v. (1,495-8). At this point the Q1 transmitter introduced four speeches among Lady Capulet, Juliet and the Nurse, which are not in Q2 at all and which involve one character, the Nurse, who in the Q2 version was not even present:

Moth. Where are you, daughter?
Nur. What lady, lamb, what Juliet!
Jul. How now, who calls?
Nur. It is your mother.

That these are simply lifted from I. iii. 1-5 will be evident when I quote the dialogue. Italics are my own.

La. Cap. Nurse, *where's* my daughter? call her forth to me.
Nurse Now, by my maidenhead, at twelve year old,
 I bade her come. What, *lamb!* *what, lady-bird!*
 God forbid! Where's this girl? *What, Juliet!*
Jul. *How now! who calls?*
Nurse *Your mother.*

The Nurse's ejaculation, "What, lamb! what, lady-bird!" we find repeated a second time in iv. v. (1,822-3) and Lady Capulet's "Where's my daughter?" in iv. v. (1,834). Then, as a final example, we note Capulet's line, "The county will be here with music straight," iv. iv. 21, twice repeated with variations: "The county will be here immediately," iv. iv. (1,802) and "The county will be early here to-morrow," iv. iii. (1,781).

Related to this tendency to repeat phrases is the transmitter's fondness for repeating words. We find *provide* used five times in Q1 and only once in Q2; *dispatch* four times in Q1, once in Q2; *presently* seven times in Q1, thrice in Q2; and *remain* seven times in Q1 and twice in Q2. On some occasions he repeats a word several times in one speech, as in Benvolio's account of his latest encounter with Romeo, I. i. 125 ff., where *drew* is used successively for *drive*, *made* and *stole*; or in the Nurse's speech, II. v. 70 ff., where *must* occurs five times in Q1 as compared with twice in Q2.

There are several places where the reproducer of the play has evidently repeated in modified form, consciously or unconsciously, passages from other Shakespearian plays he was familiar with. I give three of the most conspicuous examples. In II. ii. 140 one line of Romeo's speech, "Being in night, all this is but a dream," has been altered in Q1 to "Being night, all this is but a dream I hear and see," apparently because the reporter was influenced by similar lines in one or both of two other Shakespearian plays: "How like a dream is this I see and hear" (*Gent.*, v. iv. 26); "If this be not a dream I see and hear" (*Err.*, v. i. 375). Similarly in II. v. 75, in place of "To fetch a ladder . . ." the Nurse in Q1 says "I must provide a ladder made of cords," which bears a striking resemblance to the phrase, "The ladder made of cords," in II. iv. 182 of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*. So, too, the Nurse's line, III. iii. 160, "Good lord, what a thing learning is" (Q2 "O, what learning is") seems to have been altered under the influence of "O, this learning, what a thing it is" (*Shr.*, I. ii. 160).

Finally, there are several places where the reporter, his memory of the exact words failing him, has apparently turned versifier on his own account. For instance, evidently not remembering Juliet's closing speech at the end of II. v., "Hie to high fortune! Honest nurse, farewell," he has composed a three-line speech for her:

How doth her latter words revive my heart.
Thanks, gentle nurse; dispatch thy business,
And I'll not fail to meet my Romeo. (1,021-3.)

Or again, in III. i., forgetting ll. 160-68 of Benvolio's speech, the reporter has partially summarized their content in two of his own verses :

But Tybalt still persisting in his wrong,
The stout Mercutio drew to calm the storm. (I,173-4.)

Several other lines in this same speech may also be ascribed to his invention. Almost invariably these compositions can be detected by their stilted diction and versification. A significant example is the substitute for Juliet's speech beginning (in the Q2 version) "O, break, my heart ! poor bankrupt, break at once," III. ii. 57 ff. :

Ah, Romeo, Romeo, what disaster-hap
Hath severed thee from thy true Juliet ?
Ah, why should Heav'n so much conspire with woe
Or Fate envy our happy marriage
So soon to sunder us by timeless death ? (I,221-5.)

The stereotyped expressions *disaster-hap*, *timeless death* ; the shifted stress of *envy* ; the trisyllabic pronunciation of *marriage*, and the monotonous scansion all betoken the amateur versifier.

Remembering these instances of the reporter's methods of reconstructing the drama, we can see how the theory of participation in two productions of the play may furnish the explanation of the different dialogue in II. vi. Very striking testimony that the reporter knew the Q2 version of the scene is the occurrence of the line "Good morrow to my ghostly confessor," II. iii. 31 (Q2 "Good morrow, father"), which seems to be an anticipation of "Good even to my ghostly confessor," Q2 II. vi. 21, prompted perhaps by "a divine, a ghostly confessor," III. iii. 49. If we assume that this scene was omitted in the abridged play, as could be done if shortage of time required,¹ then the Q1 text of this scene is about what we should expect from one who played in it at one time but has nearly forgotten it. He remembers the drift of the original scene, and fragments of the speeches. Thus he recalls the Friar's closing lines, and reproduces them with moderate fidelity as :

Part for a while ; you shall not be alone
Till holy church have joined ye both in one.

¹ It was omitted in the drama as produced by Edwin Booth, cf. H. L. Hinton (ed.) *Romeo and Juliet*, New York (1868). The omission creates no difficulty, for the marriage is planned in the two preceding scenes and alluded to as an accomplished fact in the three following.

He also remembers in a somewhat altered and condensed form a part of the lines announcing Juliet's entrance,¹ "So light of foot ne'er hurts the trodden flower" (Q1). For the rest, the reporter pieces the dialogue out from still vaguer remembrance of other lines in the scene, as in the last two lines:

O, soft and fair makes sweetest work, they say.
Haste is a common hind'rer in cross way,

which may be his reconstruction from his defective remembrance of ll. 14-15 in Q2:

Therefore love moderately; long love doth so.
Too swift arrives as tardy as too slow,

influenced perhaps by II. iii. 94, "Wisely and slow; they stumble that run fast." These and the last two lines of the scene being the only rimes in the Q2 version, they might fix themselves somewhat more firmly in his memory. The reporter has shown elsewhere a fondness for creating gratuitous rimes: *hate/create* (Q2 *created*), I. i. (100-101); *so/ago*, I. v. (413-14); *skies* (Q2 *heaven*)/*eyes*, II. ii. (569-70); *laws/cause*, III. i. (1,125-6); *provide/bride*, III. v. (1,526-7); *shame/blame*, IV. i. (1,699-700); *slave in it/unfortunate*, IV. v. (1,848-9); *dead/fled*, IV. v. (1,854-5); *misery/desired to see*, IV. v. (1,861-2); *sorrow mates* [*? sorrow's mate*]/*bitter fate*, IV. v. (1,878-9); *slain/tane*, V. iii. (2,102-3). This tendency, coupled with his recollection of the two riming couplets in the original scene and the fact that other parts of the play are in rime, may explain why so much of this reconstructed scene is in rime.

Then he seems also to have reworked lines and ideas from other portions of the play. Juliet's plea, "Make haste, make haste, this ling'ring doth us wrong," was perhaps influenced by "Make haste, make haste, sirrah; fetch drier logs," IV. iv. 15, and "Make haste, the bridegroom, he is come already: Make haste, I say," IV. iv. 26-7. Romeo's announcement of Juliet's entry, "See where she comes,"² is possibly an anticipatory portion of "See where she

¹ Perhaps the imagery remained clear because the actor of Juliet so well suited the action to the word. The manner of Juliet's entrance seems to have impressed the reporter. Note the vivid, but unnecessary, stage direction, "Enter Juliet somewhat fast and embraceth Romeo."

² It is also a favourite phrase of Peele's and common in other early dramatists. "See where he looks/stands" is to be found in *T. of Shrew* and *Rich. III*, both presumably antedating *R. & J.*

comes from shrift with merry look," iv. ii. 15, or a recollection of i. i. 162, "See where he comes." The riming couplet

And consummate those never-parting bands,
Witness of our hearts' love by joining hands,

was possibly inspired by Juliet's words to Lawrence, "God joined my heart and Romeo's, thou our hands," iv. i. 55. The line "This morning here she 'pointed we should meet" is an evident summing-up of the result of Romeo's meeting with Juliet's Nurse, II. iv. 191 ff., influenced probably by her words, in the First Quarto version, II. iv. (977), "Well, to-morrow morning she shall not fail."¹ The couplet

Rom. All beauteous fairness dwelleth in thine eyes.
Jul. Romeo, from thine all brightness doth arise,

may be a refurbishment of Romeo's comparisons of Juliet's eyes to stars in II. ii. 15.

Several lines may be explained as patchwork drawn from the reporter's memory of other plays, Shakespearian and non-Shakespearian. The first two lines of the scene :

Now Father Lawrence, in thy holy grant
Consists the good of me and Juliet

are merely a restatement of "both our remedies Within thy help and holy physic lies," II. iii. 51-2, contaminated perhaps by the line in *Richard III*, iv. iv. 406, "In her consists my happiness and thine." So also the line "Come, wantons, come; the stealing hours do pass" may be a mingling of "Now comes the wanton blood . . ." a few lines before in the previous scene, II. v. 72, and *Richard III*, III. vii. 168, ". . . the stealing hours of time." The fact that there is in Q1, as we shall see later, an unmistakable borrowing from *Richard III* endows with significance verbal resemblances to that play which might otherwise be considered fortuitous. And the first words of the third line, "Without more words, I will do all I may," are perhaps a reminiscence of "No, if without more words . . ." (*Shr.*, I. ii. 232). Romeo's greetings to his bride :

My Juliet, welcome. As do waking eyes,
Closed in Night's mists, attend the frolic day,
So Romeo hath expected Juliet,

¹ Q2 has a different chronology at this point : "This afternoon, sir? Well, she shall be there."

have parallels in other plays¹:

As welcome is my honest Dick to me
As morning's sun. (Greene, *James IV*, 1. iii. 89.)

The sheepherd nipt with biting winters rage
Frolicks not more to see the paynted springe
Then I doe to behold your Magestie.
(Marlowe, *Edward II*, ed. Tucker Brooke, 863-5.)

And far more welcome is this change to me
Then sunny daies to naked Savages.
(*Solimon and Perseda*, 1. ii. 42-3.)

In giving these passages, I do not mean, however, to suggest that the reporter was consciously reproducing from an older play; more likely he was merely rephrasing image-patterns surviving from his participation in other plays.

The same line of reasoning may also explain the lamentation-passages in iv. v. For practical purposes I have considered the laments as beginning after the entrance of Friar Lawrence and Paris, though speeches in similar vein have been spoken before this point. The first speech after their entry (though assigned in Q₁ to Paris instead of Lawrence) is substantially exact: "What (Q₂ *Come*), is the bride ready to go to church?" (l. 33). The first two lines of Capulet's reply are identical, but the remainder of the speech degenerates rapidly to mere summary, "to him I give all that I have" being the gist of the reporter's remembrance of

. . . Death is my heir;
My daughter he hath wedded: I will die
And leave him all; life, living, all is Death's.

This progressive deterioration suggests that only the first two or three lines had been spoken in the shortened play. But after Paris's line, "Have I thought long (Q₂ *love*) to see this morning's face," the Q₁ text ceases to bear any direct resemblance to Q₂, until we come to the Friar's instructions concerning Juliet's burial (ll. 79-81), beginning "Dry up your tears." Now, if an adapter did wish to cut this episode to the bone, it is significant that these passages by Lawrence, Paris, and Capulet are the only ones he would need to retain in order to bridge the gap between the discovery of Juliet's

¹ Taken from F. G. Hubbard, *op. cit.*, p. 24. He also quotes other passages from early plays showing similar imagery.

"corpse" and the dialogue between Peter and the Musicians; all the rest could be dispensed with. The Friar's instructions would have to be kept so as to clear the stage before the Musicians' comic episode. Some corroboration for the dramatic propriety of such cutting lies in the fact that all the acting versions I have examined do excise practically all the lamentations and agree in retaining the particular speeches just described.

If we imagine a reporter who was recently familiar with a version of this scene in which only three speeches, totalling not more than a dozen lines, were spoken, but who recalled that the original scene had contained more, then the lamentations in Q1 are just the quality that, knowing his propensities elsewhere, we should expect him to cook up for the occasion. Analysed in this light they show themselves capable of having been produced in the same way as the Q1 text of II. vi. One line (1,846) takes its adjectives (*accursed*, *unhappy*, *miserable*) from IV. v. 43-44¹; the recurrence of *alack* in Lady Capulet's speech in Q1 (1866-70) may have been inspired by "alack my child is dead," l. 63, reinforced by recollection of numerous occurrences of the word in both quartos, especially III. ii. Both versions also show repetitions of some of the same words: *cruel*, *life*, *dead*, *death*, *day*. Besides these, Q1 has repetitions of its own, spun spiderlike from itself: the line, "Cruel, unjust, impartial destinies," occurring twice, *unjust* and *impartial* a third time, *destiny* twice more, and *miserable*, *distressed*, *deprived* twice each. Moreover, as in II. vi., many of the lines have parallels in older plays.²

However, the lamentations are not the only ones that reveal the reporter's patchwork versification. It is even more unmistakable in the Friar's speech, especially when we place the Q1 and Q2 passages side by side:

Q1 (1,871-7)	Q2 (IV. v. 65-83)
O, peace, for shame, if not for charity.	Peace, ho! for shame! confusion's cure lives not
	In these confusions. Heaven and yourself
Your daughter lives in peace and happiness,	Had part in this fair maid; now heaven hath all,

¹ Note also that the same words have been used a few lines before (1,833, 1,837).

² Hubbard, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-6.

Q1 (1,871-7)

And it is vain to wish it otherwise.

Come, stick your rosemary in this
dead corse,
And as the custom of our country
is,
In all her best and sumptuous orna-
ments,
Convey her where her ancestors lie
tomb'd,

Q2 (iv. v. 65-83)

And all the better is it for the maid :
Your part in her you could not keep
from death,
But heaven keeps his part in
eternal life.
The most you sought was her
promotion,
For 'twas your heaven she should
be advanc'd ;
And weep ye now, seeing she is
advanc'd
Above the clouds, as high as
heaven itself ?
O ! in this love, you love your
child so ill,
That you run mad, seeing that she
is well :
She's not well married that lives
married long ;
But she's best married that dies
married young.
Dry up your tears, and stick your
rosemary
On this fair corse ; and, as the
custom is,
In all her best array bear her to
church ;
For though fond nature bids us all
lament,
Yet nature's tears are reason's
merriment.

It is important to remark that if the preceding lamentations had been omitted, it follows that the first few lines of Friar Lawrence's speech must also have been deleted, because the words would have no point if the " confusions " were not uttered. The first three lines of Friar Lawrence's Q1 speech bear no real resemblance to the Q2 rendering, though the first line shows some similarity. But this similarity is specious and accidental. Remembering only perhaps that the line contained the words " peace, for shame," the transmitter has, consciously or unconsciously, substituted almost *verbatim* a line from *Richard III*, " Peace, peace, for shame, if not for charity," I. iii. 273,¹ where Buckingham, under somewhat parallel circum-

¹ According to the Folio reading.

stances, attempts to silence Queen Margaret's curses on Gloucester. Such an unmistakable borrowing from another play is most likely to arise when a reporter is unfamiliar with the correct lines. Furthermore, the stilted second and third lines are of a piece with other examples of the reporter's verse-making powers. It cannot even be said that they convey the gist of ll. 66-78 (Q2), except in a most unsatisfactory manner. These three lines would most probably come from one who had completely forgotten the originals and was trying to concoct a substitute.

Moreover, the remaining lines of this speech, which convey the thought of ll. 79 to 81 (Q2) with moderate faithfulness, are partly made up of fragments of other lines in the play. Line 1,875 (Q1), influenced by the Q2 words "and, as the custom is," is surely taken from IV. i. 109, "Then, as the manner of our country is," and has already been adduced as evidence of the line being spoken in IV. i. The last line has no counterpart in the Q2 text at this point, but has previously been cited as an actor's recollection of IV. i. 111-12:

Thou shalt be borne to that same ancient vault
Where all the kindred of the Capulets lie,

where the context is much the same. *Dead corse* and *best and sumptuous ornaments* are representative examples of our transmitter's poetic diction.

This hypothesis that the Q1 text is the work of a reporter who had participated in a complete and, subsequently, a shortened production of the play not only accounts for certain omitted passages, fragments of which appear elsewhere in Q1, but also provides an explanation of the two most extensive passages in Q1 which depart markedly from the Q2 version. It may also explain some briefer variant passages, such as Benvolio's account of the deaths of Mercutio and Tybalt (III. i. 157 ff.) or Paris's interrupted verses at Juliet's tomb (V. iii. 12 ff.), the Q1 version of each conceivably representing an attempt to reconstitute an abridged speech. In the latter passage, only the first line shows any resemblance in both quartos ("Sweet flower, with flowers thy bridal bed I strew/Q1 I strew thy bridal bed"). In place of the remaining five lines of the Q2 version, which fill out a regular rime-scheme (a b a b c c), the Q1 text introduces six entirely different lines making an incomplete, haphazard rime-scheme (a b x b x a x). The ubiquitous *remain* appears

once more ; the periphrastic *do* is used three times (*dost contain, dost remain, do adorn*) ; the line "The perfect model of eternity" has counterparts in older plays¹ ; and the line "Fair Juliet that with angels dost remain" is perhaps an echoing of Lawrence's affirmation in iv. v. 73-4 that "she is advanc'd Above the clouds, as high as heaven itself"—all signs pointing to our reporter turned versifier. His clear remembrance of only the opening line of the poem is explainable if we suppose that the speech was so cut that Paris was interrupted by the entrance of Romeo and Balthazar just after speaking the first line.

Of course this hypothesis does not account for every variant passage or every omission in Q1, many of which must be assigned to other causes ; it does, however, explain several very conspicuously omitted passages and, more important, the two places in Q1, the marriage-scene and the lamentation-passages, that have most perplexed scholars because of their wide departure from Q2. The merit of the hypothesis for working purposes is that it is based on conditions lying within the text and is consistent with the evidence of the memorial nature of Q1² ; it does not reach outside for pre- or early Shakespearian versions or depend on rather surprising vagaries of an Elizabethan compositor in order to account for these vexing phenomena.

¹ Hubbard, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

² E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare, A Study of Facts and Problems* (1930) 1. 341-2.

A TRANSLATION ATTRIBUTED TO EVELYN:
 THE MANNER OF ORDERING FRUIT-TREES
 (1660)

By F. E. BUDD

ON March 24, 1659 / 60, "a booke called *The manner of ordering Fruit Trees*, by the Sieur le Gendre Curate of Henonville," was entered in the Stationers' Register to Humphrey Moseley,¹ and was published by him in the same year (probably shortly after the date of entry)² with the following title-page and contents:

The Manner / OF / ORDERING / Fruit-Trees. / By the Sieur / LE GENDRE, / Curate of HENONVILLE. / Wherein is treated of Nurseries, Wall- / Fruits, Hedges of Fruit-Trees, Dwarf- / Trees, High-Standers, &c. / Written originally in French, and translated / faithfully into English, at the request of / severall Persons of Honour. / A Piece so highly approved of in France, that / it hath been divers times printed there. / [Rule] / LONDON, / Printed for Humphrey Moseley, at the / Prince's Armes in S. Paul's Church- / yard. 1660.

Collation: A⁶a¹²B—G¹²H⁶.

Contents: A¹ title; A²r—A⁵v Epistle Dedicatory "To the Right Honourable John Lewis de Faucon, Knight; Lord of Ris, Marquess of Charlevalle," etc.; A⁶r—a¹²r The Preface; a¹²v blank; B¹r—H⁵v (pp. 1–154) text; H⁶ blank.

The only copy of this very rare book that I have traced belonged originally to John Ray's patron, Francis Willughby, and is now in the possession of Mr. E. A. Bunyard, to whose courtesy I am indebted for the loan of the volume.

My interest in this translation was first aroused by a passage in a letter, dated October 26, 1672, from Dr. John Beale, F.R.S., Rector of Yeovil, to Robert Boyle:

And because I have seen your fair and large walls, I recommend to you, and for your man, the Sieur le Gendre's manner of ordering fruit

¹ *A Transcript of the Registers* (1913), II. 254.

² The dates of entry of certain other contemporary works and their known dates of publication are almost identical. Evelyn's *The French Gardiner* was entered on December 8, 1658, two days after its publication (see *Diary*, ed. Bray and Wheatley, 1906, II. 105).

trees, printed for *Humphrey Mosely at Prince's Arms, Paul's*, 1660, written with the greatest judgment, that ever I saw any, after about fifty years experience, and a full knowledge of all the best gardens in *France*, translated (as I guess by the stile) by Mr. *Evelyn*. It is of less bulk than the French Gardiner, translated by Mr. *Evelyn*. Both these tracts are excellent, but this lesser is close to the main art, for wall fruit; and his large preface will inspire a gardner, that hath wit enough to understand him.¹

A century and a half later George W. Johnson, in his *History of English Gardening* (1829), remarked that "this translation has been ascribed to Evelyn,"² and it would seem that he had Beale's ascription in mind, for, in his notice of Beale's gardening books, he says that "many of his letters are preserved in Boyle's works."³ I have not found the attribution elsewhere,⁴ and Evelyn scholars make no allusion to it. Mr. Geoffrey Keynes, whose *John Evelyn* (1937) is the most exhaustive examination of Evelyn's bibliography which has yet appeared, has informed me that he had not met with either the book or the remarks of Beale and Johnson.

In spite of the assertion on the title-page of *The Manner of Ordering Fruit-Trees* that the original had been "divers times printed" in France, I have found only two editions of *La manière de cultiver les arbres fruitiers* earlier than the translation, namely the first edition of 1652 and the second edition of 1653. These have entirely different dedicatory epistles, although they are in complete agreement elsewhere. The English translation is a faithful rendering, in dedication, preface, and text, of the second edition. Evelyn records a copy of this second edition in his manuscript library catalogue,⁵ and his copy, bearing some interesting ink-markings of which the significance will be discussed later, is now in the British Museum Library.⁶ The date when he acquired it is,

¹ *The Works of the Honourable Robert Boyle*, 1744, v. 499.

² P. 107.

³ P. 101.

⁴ In the bibliography of her *History of English Gardening* (1910), p. 344, the Hon. Mrs. Evelyn Cecil (Lady Rockley) lists *The Manner of Ordering Fruit-Trees* under the year 1664, and states, without quoting evidence in support, that "the translator was John Forster." Lady Rockley has been good enough to inform me that she cannot remember her authority for this statement and that she has never seen the book. Forster's one publication, *Englands Happiness Increased* (1664), is a discourse on potatoes, and bears no resemblance in style or in any other respect to *The Manner of Ordering Fruit-Trees*.

⁵ Keynes, *John Evelyn. A Study in Bibliophily and a Bibliography of his Writings* (1937), p. 291, no. 66.

⁶ Brit. Mus. 7977.aa.22. The title runs: "La manière de cultiver les arbres fruitiers Par le Sieur LE GENDRE Curé d'Henonville. Où il est traité des Pepinieres. Des Espalliers. Des Contr'espassiers. Des Arbres en buisson, &

naturally, not known, but the close of 1659 may be suggested as a *terminus ante quem*, for on October 25 of that year a Paris correspondent of Samuel Hartlib was recommending Le Gendre's "little Treatise" for Evelyn's use in his project of composing an "Elysium"¹—an encyclopædic work on gardening which never materialized, but whose grandiose proportions may be judged by the sheet of proposed contents which Evelyn later printed.² Evelyn, however, may well have possessed Le Gendre's book earlier, just as he did *Le Jardinier françois*, which this same correspondent recommended on September 13, 1659,³ but which Evelyn had already translated as *The French Gardiner* (1658).

The anonymous publication of *The Manner of Ordering Fruit-Trees* is consistent with Evelyn's practice. Three of his four accepted works of 1659–1660 were so issued. In this connection Mr. Keynes' caveat must be quoted :

Evelyn was apt to publish both original works and translations anonymously or under a pseudonym, and the recent discovery of a very interesting, though undescribed, work by him relating to the Jesuits may serve as a warning that other books may yet remain to be identified as his.⁴

Beale's attitude sufficiently illustrates the ease with which anonymity could be preserved. Although he had been associated with Evelyn in his "hortulan" interests since 1659, he obviously finds nothing strange in the fact that he has never heard, or bothered to inquire, if Evelyn was the translator of the *Le Gendre*. The question having once occurred to him, however, his close knowledge of the gardening writings of Evelyn and his contemporaries gives considerable authority to his ascription. The corollary to it, that he knew of no obstacle to Evelyn's authorship or of any alternative suggestion, may also be emphasized.

Certain presumptive objections have occurred to me, but of these the only one that at all survived investigation is that Evelyn nowhere claims the work or refers to it. But this objection is by no means insuperable. Evelyn's lists of his writings are not com-

à haute tige. SECONDE EDITION. A PARIS, . . . M.DC.LIII. . . ." The colophon gives the date 1654. At the foot of the title-page Evelyn's original catalogue marking, "Melpo : 37," is cancelled. For similar cancellations see Keynes, *op. cit.*, p. 17. An inscription on the fly-leaf, "From Evelyns Collection Jan. 1814. Upcott," reveals the agency whereby the book left the library preserved at Wotton House, Surrey.

¹ *Evelyn Correspondence*, Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 15,948, fol. 72^v.

² Reprinted in Bray and Wheatley, *op. cit.*, III. 192–4.

³ Addit. MS 15,948, fol. 71^r.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. xi–xii.

plete, nor does he refer to them all elsewhere. His long illness early in 1660 would, if the work were his, explain both the silence of the *Diary* regarding its publication (only two brief paragraphs are given to the interval between February 11 and May 3) and the absence, unusual in any translation, of a translator's foreword. Moreover, Evelyn's attitude towards his publications was often rather supercilious, especially when, as was usually the case, they were the product of the drudgery of translation. He had already issued under a pseudonym a translation of "An accomplished Piece" on the same theme as Le Gendre's, namely *The French Gardiner*. The success of this reconciled him to acknowledging it fully in subsequent editions and in his other works, but these editions retain the original excuse that the task was performed "to gratifie a noble *Friend*, who had only that *empire* over me, as to make me quit some more serious *Employments* for a few dayes in obedience to his command" ("To the Reader"). The "Advertisement" to the 1679 edition of *Sylva* has the reminder that the work was primarily compiled for "the more *Ingenious*; the benefit and diversion of *Gentlemen*, and Persons of *Quality*." Similarly the translation of "A Piece so highly approved of in France" as Le Gendre's is excused on the title-page—which is very much in the manner of Evelyn—as having been undertaken "at the request of severall Persons of Honour." Since no second edition was called for, the translator was not given the opportunity of acknowledging a successful work that the later editions of *The French Gardiner* provided.

Evelyn's silence on *The Manner of Ordering Fruit-Trees* is, therefore, no valid argument against his being the translator. Paradoxically, it might even be regarded as favourable to this conclusion. His superficial snobbishness apart, Evelyn's real motive in all his translations was not to win praise for himself but to make available to his less widely read countrymen the most useful of current French publications on a variety of subjects. In the third quarter of the seventeenth century no other known author showed any desire to augment English gardening literature by translation from the French, and the first to imitate him, Charles Cotton, so far from displaying Evelyn's altruism and diffidence, discreetly omitted to mention that *The Planters Manual* (1675) was translated from the French—a fact only recently detected.

A comparison of Evelyn's advice on the culture of fruit-trees

in his original "hortulan" writings, all of which are later than 1660, with that given in *The French Gardiner* and *The Manner of Ordering Fruit-Trees*, shows that he agrees closely with the principles and repeats many of the details of the latter where it differs from or supplements the former. The other gardening books of the period do not provide an alternative source. These borrowings, whether made direct from his copy of the original or from the English translation or acquired in the process of translating Le Gendre, do at least reveal a close acquaintance with an author to whom Evelyn nowhere makes acknowledgment.¹ One can, moreover, name no English writer of the period to whom Le Gendre's work would be likely to make so direct and intimate an appeal as to Evelyn. Le Gendre's eloquent confession to a passion for trees that has coloured his whole life finds many an echo in Evelyn, and he anticipates in a remarkable way Evelyn's expression of his own ambitions for arboriculture. A few quotations from the translation will help to illustrate Le Gendre's attitude and at the same time give some taste, however inadequate, of the translator's style.

Le Gendre, like Evelyn, was at pains to redeem his hobby from the current suspicion that it was, as Evelyn later puts it, "a consideration of too sordid and vulgar a nature for *Noble Persons* and *Gentlemen* to busie themselves withal,"² In his dedicatory epistle Le Gendre asserts the propriety of "our rustick Divertisements" as a recreation for his noble patron, and remarks:

You know how many Charms this lovely part of Agriculture hath, that it affords us Joyes, which are altogether pure, and Hopes as sweet as innocent. I have my self been taken with them from my tender years; but when I consider, that this Love hath found a place in your Heart, and that the same Hand, which so worthily holds the Ballance of Justice, disdaines not sometimes to cultivate Trees; so noble an Example redoubles my passion. (p. A3^v.)

In his preface he claims that:

If this Art deserve not to be put in the number of the best Sciences, and principall occupations of the mind; it hath, nevertheless, this

¹ The only reference to Le Gendre's work which I have noted in Evelyn occurs in *The Compleat Gard'ner* (1693), p. a2^r, and is an annoyingly literal translation of La Quintinye's acknowledgment of his indebtedness to the "Curé d'Enonville" (*Instructions pour les Jardins fruitiers et potagers*, 1690, "Préface"). La Quintinye touches upon the identity of Le Gendre himself. For a discussion of this vexed question and for a tribute to the high pomological value of Le Gendre's book, see E. A. Bunyard, *A Guide to the Literature of Pomology* (*Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society*, vol. XI., part 3, April 1915).

² Sylva (1664), "To the Reader," p. A4^r.

advantage, that it hath alwayes kept some proportion with them, and hath almost inseparably followed them throughout the world.

All Antiquity gives us assured proofs of this Truth. (pp. A6^v-a1^r.)

The example of the Patriarchs, the kings of Persia, the Greeks and certain "Great Men and Noble Spirits" among the Romans is then quoted in vindication of the art. One is inevitably reminded of Evelyn's "Introduction" to his *Kalendarium Hortense* (1664), and of the address "To the Reader" of *Sylva*, with its attempt to combat prejudice along the lines marked by Le Gendre and by reference to the same famous men of the past:

that disdained not to cultivate these *Rusticities* even with their own hands, and to esteem it a great *Accession*, to dignifie their *Persons*, and adorn them *purple* with these *Rural Characters* of their affections to *Planting*, and love of this part of *Agriculture*.¹

Both Le Gendre and Evelyn aim at collaboration among gardeners by a pooling of experience. Le Gendre hopes for this "since I so freely communicate unto them all that which I my self have gotten"²; Evelyn draws attention to the many new observations "so freely communicated" in *Sylva*,³ and again in the *Kalendarium Hortense*, where also he generously acknowledges the "free communications to the *Publick*" of professional gardeners.⁴ Le Gendre published the fruits of his experience, as did Evelyn in *Sylva*, "onely for the satisfaction of ingenious men, and at the desire of them that love the best Agriculture."⁵ The potential danger to trees and gardens which an ignorant owner of an estate represents, moves him, as it did the author of *Sylva*,⁶ to desert his normal urbanity for caustic denunciation. One feels that his ideal master would have been the compiler of *Directions for the Gardiner at Says-Court*.

The secret of successful gardening, however, does not rest in knowledge alone, essential though this is; and Evelyn's "Introduction" to his *Kalendarium Hortense* fully endorses the "principall Advice concerning all Trees" with which Le Gendre concludes his treatise:

¹ I quote here the revised reading of the 1670 edition, p. b1^r. The italics throughout are Evelyn's.

² *Manner*, etc., p. a11^r.

³ First inserted in the 1679 edition. p. A1^r.

⁴ In *Sylva* (1664), pp. 56-7.

⁵ *Manner*, etc., p. a8^r.

⁶ Evelyn speaks heatedly on this subject in his address "To the Reader" of *Sylva* (1679 ed.).

No man can have fair Plants, unless he love them : For it is neither the goodness of the Soyl, nor the quantity of Dung, nor the advantageous Situation, which make trees to grow well ; but it is the Affection of the Master which animates them, and renders them strong and vigorous. Thus we see, that if this Affection be wanting, if they be neglected, though they be planted in the best Grounds, they languish and become unfruitfull. Men are no longer in the earthly Paradise, where they might eat the most admirable Fruits, without labour ; they must till the Ground, they must cultivate the Trees, if they will gather the fruit of them. Nature no longer yields any thing of her own accord, she must be wooed and flattered, if we would obtain what we desire at her hands ; we must love Her, if we would be loved by her. 'Tis this Affection which alone hath given me the skill I have in Plants. (p. 153.)

With Le Gendre, as with Evelyn, this affection was life-long. In his Preface he recalls that from infancy, through youth and manhood, the appeal of "these innocent delights" has steadily strengthened :

For our Agriculture hath in it this singular property, that such as have once loved it, do never forsake it, but, on the contrary, do every year take much more delight in it than before ; which shewes, that it hath in it somewhat of solidity and truth, which attracts men, by reason, and not by fancy : Indeed, all other pleasures vanish, or do at last grow less by time ; . . . But the affection which is taken unto Trees, grows up every day with them : It strengthens its self in well-govern'd Spirits, as trees put forth stronger roots in a good Soyl. So that I perswade my self, that I might borrow those words of the Poet to make up the Motto of a true Gardiner, *Crescent illæ, crescetis amores*. (p. 24^{r-v}.)¹

These few quotations, if read in conjunction with Evelyn's gardening writings, suffice to reveal the affinity of outlook between the two men. In substance these passages are faithful to the original, but in style they bear the impress of the translator. A comparison of the original and the translation in their entirety shows that the translator frequently introduces his own idiomatic turns of phrase and has definite preferences among words. He modifies Le Gendre's sentence structure ; and punctuation and spelling are, naturally, his own. The cadence of the periods and the distinctive stylistic atmosphere which the work as a whole creates, reflect more fundamentally his characteristic manner of writing. In all these respects *The Manner of Ordering Fruit-Trees* harmonizes completely with Evelyn's writings of this period, and, at the same time, stands

¹ John Rea borrows the idea and several of the phrases of this passage to form an effective opening paragraph for his *Flora* (1665).

distinguished from those of other contemporary writers on gardening. Quotations of sufficient number and extent to demonstrate this are impossible within the limits of an article, and the rarity of the translation gives my assertion a regrettable immunity from investigation. It should, however, be remembered that it was on the evidence of style that Beale, a shrewd judge of literature and one familiar with contemporary publications, ascribed the work to Evelyn. Fortunately there are certain other features which permit of brief examination; and these again point directly to Evelyn as translator.

The "mechanics" of translation in *The Manner of Ordering Fruit-Trees* are identical with those characteristic of Evelyn in, for example, *The French Gardiner*, which, on account of its similarity of theme and proximity in date, is the most useful of all his translations for the purposes of comparison. Each shows the quality of complete fidelity to the sense of the original, and in each there is a good deal of literal translation. In the interests of precision, marginal notes are added in each in explanation of unfamiliar names or technical terms, and, as later examples will show, the same names and terms receive annotation in identical or nearly identical words. One interesting modification consistently made in the English *Le Gendre* is the substitution of direct address to the reader, as "you," for the impersonal approach of the French original. For example, "Le meilleur plant pour greffer des pommiers propres à mettre en espallier, en palissades, ou à tenir en buisson, . . ." (p. 7) becomes "The best Plant to graff such Apple-trees upon, as you would have to grow against a wall, in Pallisades or Hedges, and such as you desire to keep low for dwarf-trees, . . ." (p. 5). Evelyn had anticipated this practice in *The French Gardiner*. *Le Jardinier françois* had, it is true, given him the lead, for it usually employs this direct address; but Evelyn carried the process to completion by transforming the frequent impersonal constructions of his original to the same pattern. Thus "mixed" sentences are made uniform, as when "Pour ce qui est du fonds où se rencontre le Tuf, vous le ménagerez . . ." (ed. 1651, p. 6) is rendered "As concerning the bottom, where you encounter with *Gravell*, you shall husband it . . ." (p. 6); and entirely impersonal sentences are similarly changed, as when "Pour les mettre en estat, il faut faire une belle Tranchée" (p. 10) becomes "To bring this to perfection you must make a large *trench*" (p. 10).

The translator of Le Gendre and Evelyn have a marked predilection for the same phrases and words. Compare, for instance, with this last quotation from Evelyn the translation of Le Gendre's "la veritable methode pour faire reüssir les arbres . . ." (p. 11^r) as "the true method of bringing trees to perfection . . ." (p. 24^v). It cannot, I think, be suggested that "to bring to perfection" is an inevitable, or even a very literal, rendering of "mettre en estat" and "faire reüssir," nor is it the sort of phrase that would be laboriously borrowed. One suspects rather a single translator to whom it came spontaneously. Again, both translations employ "handsomely" repeatedly to render "proprement," "adroitement," etc., as applied to the planting and training of trees, and in one or two instances introduce it where the original has no adverb. They agree also in translating "beaucoup de," "quantité de," "en quantité" as "store of"; "amender," in reference to soil, as "amend," though one might expect an occasional "improve"; and the translator of Le Gendre shares Evelyn's taste, apparent in his original writings of this period, for "divertissement", although the earliest example in *O.E.D.* of the word used in his sense of "entertainment" is as recent as 1651. Individually, perhaps, none of these examples, chosen almost at random from the many available, is significant, but their cumulative effect is impressive.

By applying the word test to the more technical element in the vocabulary of each work, the impression of common authorship is emphatically reinforced. The renderings of the French names of fruit-trees in the Le Gendre agree with Evelyn's in his catalogues in *The French Gardiner* and the 1691 edition of the *Kalendarium Hortense*. There is more significance in this agreement than at first sight appears, as may be judged from Evelyn's statement of his difficulties in a note in *The French Gardiner*:

READER, If in this *Catalogue of Fruits*, I have either mistaken or omitted many of the true *English* names, it is because it was a *Subjection* too insupportable: and besides the *French Gardiners* themselves are not perfectly accorded concerning them; nor have our *Orchards*, as yet, attained to so ample a *Choyce* and universal, as to supply the deficiency of the *Dictionary* (p. 133).

For the clearer identification or description of certain French varieties, Evelyn in *The French Gardiner* and the translator of Le Gendre often add an explanation of the French title either in a marginal note or in the text itself, where they sometimes give the

original word plus the explanation, sometimes the explanatory translation alone. In one or two cases the definition is akin to that of "the *Dictionary*"—presumably Cotgrave's; but in other instances the explanations given in *The French Gardiner* and the Le Gendre agree in sense and even in wording, but differ wholly from Cotgrave and other contemporary writers, while there is no example of the reverse process: *e.g.*:

Pommier de Parradis, or *Paradise-Apple-tree*. *F.G.* (p. 79) and the Le Gendre (p. 5) both define this in marginal notes as "A kind of Codling." Cotgrave explains it quite differently as "An excellent sweet apple that comes of a Pearmayn grafted on the stock of a Quince," and John Rea regards it as a distinct species from the codling.¹ The earliest example of *Paradise-Apple* in *O.E.D.* is dated 1676.

Pavies. *F.G.* (p. 81) and the Le Gendre (p. 12) define these in marginal notes as, respectively, "Peaches. Sort that cleaves to the Stone" and "Peach that cleaves to the stone." Cotgrave (quoted later by Charles Cotton)² has "*Pavie*. A bastard Peach, or fruit like a Peach," while Rea says "*Peach de Pavie* is a good yellow *Peach*."³ The earliest example of Pavy in *O.E.D.* is dated 1675.

In their use of the technical terms for the various processes of fruit-tree culture I have noted only one difference to mar the otherwise complete harmony. The translator of Le Gendre sometimes employs "stander" for "standard"—twenty-five years before the earliest example quoted in *O.E.D.* Neither of these forms occurs in *The French Gardiner*, where trees are classified according to the length of their "stems," as is also done in the Le Gendre; but in Evelyn's later works the word used is "standard." This partial exception, however, is more than offset by the invariable employment in both translations of a number of terms which do not occur together and several of which do not occur individually in any other of the writers on gardening of the period, *e.g.*:

Free-stock. Throughout the Le Gendre, *The French Gardiner*, and Evelyn's only other translation of a French gardening book, *The Complete Gard'ner* (1693), the one rendering of "franc" or "sauvageon franc" is "free-stock." Cotgrave gives no such meaning, and even the English term receives explanation in marginal notes: *F.G.* (p. 50), "Such as are produced of Kernels"; Le Gendre (p. 6), "Such as are raised from the kernels of Pears or Apples"; and (p. 28) "Stocks grown from Kernels." In his original writings Evelyn uses "free-stock," but I have

¹ *Flora*, 1665, p. 203.

² *The Planters Manual*, 1675, p. 32.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 221.

not found it among his contemporaries. So late as 1685 the translator of *L'art de tailler les arbres fruitiers* (1683) retains the French term: "We say to Graft *Franc* on a *Franc*, Coin *Franc*" (*The Art of Pruning Fruit-Trees*, p. 48). The earliest example of "free-stock" given in *O.E.D.* is from London and Wise's *Compleat Gard'ner* (1719), an abridgement of Evelyn's work.

Spade-bit=spit of earth. The invariable translation of "fer de besche" in *F.G.* and *Le Gendre*, and Evelyn's usual word in his other gardening writings. I have not noticed the term "spit" in Evelyn before *Terra* (1676), and both here and later "spade-bit" also remains. Contemporary writers do not use it. *O.E.D.* gives it as dialectal, the first and only example quoted being as late as 1790.

Scutcheon. This grafting term (French *écusson*) is used throughout the *Le Gendre* and *The French Gardiner*, and in Evelyn's other writings. Other writers prefer "shield." Rea speaks once of "Shield or Escoccheon,"¹ but thereafter of "Shield" only; Francis Drope has one use only of "escutcheon"²; Leonard Meager, who appears to draw generously upon the *Le Gendre*, usually compromises with "Scutcheon or shield."³

Short=friable. This is the stock word in the *Le Gendre* (French *meuble*), *The French Gardiner* and Evelyn's other works to apply to friable mould or dung. I have not noted it in contemporary writers, except once in a passage obviously borrowed by Meager from the *Le Gendre*.⁴ *O.E.D.* gives 1725 for its first occurrence in this sense.

Fat=rich. This, as applied to earth, is again a stock word in these translations and throughout Evelyn. Ralph Austen⁵ and Cotton also employ it thus, but the earliest example in *O.E.D.* is dated 1706.

The harmony in the vocabulary, both general and technical, of the *Le Gendre* and *The French Gardiner*, and its divergence in significant instances from that of contemporary writers, cannot be attributed to coincidence or imitation. Other features of the works, such as punctuation and spelling, show the same agreement. Evelyn's later spellings are by no means always the same as those of *The French Gardiner*, but here he is fairly consistent, and the work is near enough in date to the *Le Gendre* to make the test of some value, even when due allowance has been made for the intervention of the printer. It is, perhaps, also worth remarking that the only three instances of grammatical looseness which I have found in

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 207.

² *Short and Sure Guid in the Practice of Raising and Ordering of Fruit Trees*, 1672, p. 74.

³ *The English Gardener* (1670), pp. 23-6.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 55.

⁵ *A Treatise of Fruit-Trees* (1653), *passim*.

the Le Gendre have their parallels in Evelyn.¹ There is, in short, no internal evidence to conflict with the theory that Evelyn translated the Le Gendre, while there is strong evidence of style, method, and vocabulary to support it.

Some interesting circumstantial evidence pointing clearly to the same conclusion is provided by Evelyn's own copy of Le Gendre's *La manière de cultiver les arbres fruitiers* (1653). The text has ink-markings in four places only. On p. 73 two short horizontal lines in the margin call attention to a remark of cultural interest, and a reference back to this page is written, in the same faded brown ink, on the final flyleaf. The other three markings, in darker ink, are underlinings of the words "glaise" (p. 85), "fresche" (p. 86), and "pivotent" (p. 108), and against these crosses or ticks are made in the margin. In the corresponding places in the translation "glaise" and "fresche" receive marginal notes: "*Glaise*, A moist slimy white soyl" (p. 55); "*Tresch* [sic], fresh or moist in a lower degree" (p. 56). As "glaise" had already occurred twice (pp. 48, 73) and "fresche," in the same sense but with the variant spelling "fraische," three times (pp. 24, 32, 34), and had simply been translated "galt" and "fresh," the appearance of these notes in the contexts where the words are underlined in Evelyn's copy of the original can scarcely be attributed to coincidence. The variety of meanings attached to "glaise" and "fresche" certainly made definitions of their precise meanings in these contexts desirable. Cotgrave, for instance, does not give such a sense under "fresch," while "glaise" he defines as "Gravell; sand, and small pible stones, or, sand mingled with stones; also, a whitish, and slimie soyle." That Evelyn agreed with the translator of Le Gendre in accepting the last of these inconsistent alternatives can be seen from his dictionary of gardening terms in *The Compleat Gard'ner*, where, under "Earth," he deliberately differs from his original. La Quintinye specifically defines "glaise" as "*une sorte de terre*

¹ (a) "As" for "which." Le Gendre, p. 4 (translator's marginal note), "*Pommiers Frans*, that is, Apple-trees as are not wild"; cf. *F. G.*, p. 270, "For as for those as are *grafted* upon the *Pear-stock*."

(b) Breach of concord in pronouns. Le Gendre, p. 84, "In this every one may follow their own inclination"; cf. Naudé's *Instructions* (1661), p. 79, "they should be ranged among the rest, each in their proper stages."

(c) Breach of concord between subject and verb. Le Gendre, p. 153, "it is neither the goodness of the Soyl, . . . nor the advantageous Situation, which make trees to grow well"; cf. *Pomona* (in *Sylva*, 1664), p. 56, "there often falls out so many things to be done on the sudden."

verdâtre,"¹ but Evelyn renders his "Elle se nomme terre argilleuse quand elle approche de la nature de l'argille, ou glaise"² as "It is called White Clay, when it is of a White stiff, and slimy substance." The last of the underlined words, "pivotent," is apparently used in the technical sense of "form tap-roots"; but no such meaning of "pivoter" is given in Cotgrave. It is significant that this word, which arrested Evelyn's attention, also puzzled the translator, for he discreetly omits to translate it. His rendering of Le Gendre's "Et comme on doit empescher autant qu'il se peut, que les racines ne pivotent & ne poussent en fonds . . ." (p. 108) is simply "And because in such places the roots ought to be hindred, as much as may be, from growing downwards towards the bottom. . . ." (p. 70).

The case for assigning *The Manner of Ordering Fruit-Trees* to Evelyn would seem to be well founded. It has been shown that he knew of the original by 1659 at the latest. He possessed a copy of the edition which the translation follows; indeed, on the testimony of the ink-markings, the very copy from which it was made. The book was such as to make a peculiarly strong appeal to him, as the reflection of its spirit and substance in his own writings proves; and there was no known contemporary interested in translating gardening books from the French at that time. The internal evidence points consistently and, I think, convincingly to Evelyn as translator; and this conclusion is supported by Beale's ascription, the one contemporary utterance on the question that I have found. Evidence may yet come to light in unexpected places (perhaps through the medium of a forgotten presentation copy) which will answer it decisively. On the evidence at present available, I submit that Evelyn was the translator of *The Manner of Ordering Fruit-Trees*.

ADDENDUM. Since passing the proofs of this article I have been informed by Mr. E. A. Bunyard that he has acquired another copy of the English *Le Gendre*, identical with the copy described above except for the insertion of a copper frontispiece in which illustrations of men grafting and pruning fruit trees surround the framed lettering, "The Manner of Ordering Fruit Trees. London. Printed for Humphrey Moseley."

¹ *Op. cit.*, ed. 1692, p. 38.

² *Idem*, p. 54.

FOUR LETTERS FROM GEORGE CRABBE TO EDMUND BURKE

BY DIXON WECTER

EDMUND BURKE's discovery of the literary promise of George Crabbe and the generous patronage which gave the young poet, a printer, the chance to prepare himself for holy orders, and finally a ducal chaplaincy, have long been known because of Crabbe's fervent public gratitude.¹ Five letters from Crabbe to Burke and one from Burke to Crabbe have hitherto been published, in a variety of places which will be cited below. Four previously unpublished letters from the poet to his patron have been found among the private papers of Burke which passed into the custody of Lord Fitzwilliam, and are now divided between the two archives of his family at Wentworth Woodhouse, Yorkshire, and Milton, near Peterborough.² The place of these new letters in the entire sequence, as well as in the larger framework of Burke's relationship with Crabbe, may be briefly indicated.

One recalls the story of Crabbe's early struggle against the poverty and provincial dreariness of Aldborough, his apprenticeship to an apothecary and the attempt to practise medicine among the village poor, his falling in love with Sarah Elmy and her encouragement of his poetic ambitions, his arrival in London in 1780, and the year of fruitless application to Lord North, Lord Shelburne, Chancellor Thurlow, the publisher Dodsley, and others. Finally, when the distressed poet had exhausted both money and credit and was on the brink of despair, in his own words "he fixed, impelled by some propitious influence, in some happy moment, upon Edmund Burke—one of the first Englishmen, and, in the capacity and energy of his

¹ See his grateful Preface to *Poems Published in 1807*, in *Poetical Works. Edited, with a Life, by his Son*, London, 1851, p. 97, and his "Autobiographical Sketch," first published in *The New Monthly Magazine*, January 1, 1816.

² In transcribing and publishing these letters I wish to acknowledge with thanks the kind permission of the present owners, the Earl Fitzwilliam and Thomas Wentworth Fitzwilliam, Esq.

mind, one of the greatest of human beings."¹ The date of Crabbe's first remarkable letter—originally published in 1834 by his eldest son George in a biography of the poet, and given in facsimile from the Broadley Collection by Huchon—is missing, but upon sound evidence Huchon places it "towards the end of February or the beginning of March, 1781."² The manliness of this appeal, together with the evidences of poetic talent which accompanied it, touched Burke immediately. When, after a night spent "in such a state of agitation that I walked Westminster Bridge backwards and forwards until daylight,"³ Crabbe presented himself at Burke's door the next day, he was made welcome and given aid.

According to the poet's recollection in 1816, Burke had begun by reading "a large quantity of miscellaneous compositions which the young man submitted with timidity. . . . Among those compositions were two poems of somewhat a superior kind, *The Library* and *The Village*; these were selected by Mr. Burke."⁴ *The Library* was chosen for speedy publication, and indeed it seems unlikely that at this time *The Village* existed save as scattered lines—certainly no reference to it occurs in the known correspondence of 1781.⁵ The first of these unpublished letters, though undated, refers rather clearly to Burke's criticism of *The Library*; "the article History" can hardly be other than an allusion to lines 479-500 in the accepted text,⁶ beginning:

Next, HISTORY ranks :—there full in front she lies,
And every nation her dread tale supplies.
Yet History has her doubts, and every age
With sceptic queries marks the passing page. . . .

This letter, written on a single sheet of letter-paper, reads as follows:

Sir,

In correcting my Poem I have paid the greatest attention to your observations & as far as they guided me I went on with satisfaction to myself, but left to my own Judgment I am afraid it has led me into many

¹ "Autobiographical Sketch," q. in *Poetical Works*, p. 25.

² René Huchon, *Crabbe and His Times* (London, 1907), p. 112.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 114, n. 1, from the poet's own statement to Sir Walter Scott.

⁴ "Autobiographical Sketch," q. in *Poetical Works*, p. 27.

⁵ Cf. Huchon, p. 115, n. 3.

⁶ That of the edition of 1823, the last edition published in England in the poet's lifetime; cf. *Crabbe's Poems*, ed. A. W. Ward (Cambridge, 1905), vol. 1, p. ix. Although there were some changes between the original manuscript, as collated in the 1834 text, and the first edition, and also between the first and the revised edition of 1823, they affect nothing save the line-numbering in this passage.

Errors :—I know Sir your continual Engagements will not permit you to attend to things of such little consequence, but if possible you will slightly peruse the sheets I now trouble you with, and the Errors that escape your slightest, I shall conclude will never be seen : In the article History there is a passage which more particularly needs your Judgment & which I dare not print without your permission ; you will easily see that a desire of honouring myself occasioned this freedom, and that Gratitude & the most Exalted opinion were but Directors of my Choice and not my motives for chusing, a Name which will give credit to my attempt : pardon my repeated request & remember Sir that your advice is not lost upon me, it is on the contrary thankfully received & as far as my ability permits, strictly attended to.

I am Sir
your most obliged
humble Ser^t
Geo Crabbe.

I will take the Liberty of calling upon you in a few Days, & this, with all other freedom I have taken you will I hope pardon with your accustomed Generosity.

Crabbe's request for Burke's "permission" and his statement that "Gratitude & the most Exalted opinion were but Directors of my Choice and not my motives for chusing, a Name which will give credit to my attempt," suggest that in "the article History" he had tentatively inserted a poetical tribute to his newly found patron. Since *The Library* was to be published anonymously, a panegyric in the text itself rather than a dedication must have occurred to Crabbe in the first raptures of his gratitude. One concludes that this attempt, like other overtures in the same direction, was declined by Burke.¹ By the editor of the *Poetical Works*, first published in 1834, we are told that "the original draft of 'The Library,' as first

¹ See the testimony of the poet's son George, *Poetical Works*, p. 37 : "I believe my father offered him [*i.e.* Burke] the dedication of 'The Newspaper,' as well as of some of his earlier publications ; but that great man, probably from modesty, declined anything of this kind." Thus Crabbe was kept from any formal and public expression of thanks to Burke until ten years after the statesman's death, in the Preface to Poems Published in 1807, *Poetical Works*, pp. 97-98 : "While composing the first published of these poems [*i.e.* 'The Library'], the author was honoured with the notice and assisted by the advice of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke : part of it was written in his presence, and the whole submitted to his judgment ; receiving, in its progress, the benefit of his correction : I hope, therefore, to obtain pardon of the reader, if I eagerly seize the occasion, and, after so long a silence, endeavour to express a grateful sense of the benefits I have received from this gentleman, who was solicitous for my more essential interest, as well as benevolently anxious for my credit as a writer." The character of Eusebius in *The Borough* (1810), xvii. 74-113, has been regarded as a further tribute to Burke, though the identity is questionable ; cf. Huchon, p. 272, n. 3.

shown to Mr. Burke, has been found among Mr. Crabbe's MSS., and the various readings supplied from this and other sources, together with explanatory matter of various kinds, are appended to the present pages in notes distinguished by brackets."¹ Since this collation offers no variant readings in "the article History," we may suppose that "the sheets I now trouble you with" contained inserts which upon Burke's veto were thrown away. Evidently a later revision was presented to Burke with a letter dated March 27, 1781, and first printed from the Fitzwilliam archives where the original still remains.² Its content shows that it belongs after several earlier applications, such as the letter above. Written from the poet's garret lodgings in Bishopsgate Street, it begins:

I have ventured to trouble you once more, by sending a copy of my poem in its former state, and that which (if it has merit enough to deserve your correction) I will endeavour to get printed as expeditiously as possible. I am afraid my frequent applications will induce you to repent of your kindness to me. . . .

If the line wherein the Duke of Rutland is indirectly mentioned, be such as would offend his grace, or if you disapprove it,—it is almost unnecessary, I hope, to say it shall be immediately altered. . . .

This allusion to line 589 in the first edition of *The Library*:

Some noble RUTLAND, misery's friend and thine,

along with Crabbe's references in this same letter to "my great inclination to the church, and your late hints to me on this subject," reveals that Burke had turned Crabbe's aspiring laudation toward the master of Belvoir Castle, whose chaplain Crabbe became in the following year.

The fourth surviving letter which Crabbe wrote to Burke is that of June 26, 1781—sometimes styled the "Bunbury letter" because Burke gave it to Sir Charles Bunbury in view of the latter's interest in Crabbe, and because it was first printed in a volume of family memoirs edited by Sir Henry Bunbury in 1838.³ After an important summary of his early life and struggles Crabbe closes with

¹ "Advertisement to the Poems," *Poetical Works*, p. 94.

² *Correspondence of Burke*, ed. Earl Fitzwilliam and Sir R. Bourke (London, 1844), vol. II, pp. 413-5.

³ *Correspondence of Sir Thomas Hanmer . . . and other Relicks of a Gentleman's Family* (London, 1838), pp. 384-95. Huchon, who reprints this letter on pp. 493-8 of his biography, gives its whereabouts as the Broadley Collection, Bridport. A more recent reprint is in *The Life of George Crabbe*, World's Classics, London, 1932, pp. 307-15.

a reference to what was probably the final draft of *The Library*: "I will wait upon you, Sir, as soon as possible with a fresh copy of my poem, correct as I have power to make it. In this I shall yet presume to ask your opinion." After Burke's personal application to Dodsley, the poem was published on July 24, 1781.¹

At the end of the Parliamentary session on July 18, Burke invited Crabbe to Beaconsfield, where he was treated as an honoured guest.² Following this visit Crabbe joined the Elmys at Beccles, and there wrote his fifth known letter to Burke, dated August 24, and published long ago.³ It reiterates the poet's gratitude, speaks of Sir Charles Bunbury's sympathy, which Burke had enlisted in the poet's cause, and discusses further plans for the ordination. In Suffolk and in London Crabbe pursued his clerical studies in the face of certain minor discouragements; these form the substance of his sixth letter to Burke, hitherto unknown. A torn edge of the manuscript makes a few simple conjectures necessary, here enclosed in brackets:

London, Saturday, Oct. 3, 1781.

Dear Sir,

I was hurried from Beccles about half an hour before your letter came, and unfortunately did not receive it till this afternoon. A sister of Miss Elmys⁴ coming with Lady Barnard to Town and being a stranger here, as unfortunately detains me, whilst all my wishes are to be with you, and all my complaisance but ill conceals my anxiety because I am not.

Forgive me Sir for this hasty letter in which I can only say that I shall never forget nor [cease] to be thankful for your kind intentions [though I am] much afraid from every circumstance that [it] will not be my good fortune to obtain the [living] you mention, it being a consideration which I apprehend many will seek after, and which cannot be supposed to be denied to the requests, perhaps importunity, of others and reserved

¹ *The Public Advertiser* of July 24, 1781, announced: "This day is published, 4^o, 2 shillings, *The Library, a Poem*." Q. by Huchon, p. 116, n. 4. For Burke's intercession with Dodsley, see "Autobiographical Sketch," *Poetical Works*, p. 27.

² See the anecdote of Mrs. Burke's hospitality to Crabbe related in "Autobiographical Sketch," q. in *Poetical Works*, p. 27.

³ Published in *Correspondence of Burke*, vol. II, pp. 429-31, from the original which is still at Wentworth Woodhouse.

⁴ Sarah Elmy had two sisters, Mary and Eleanor, who were living with her at Beccles at this time; see Huchon, p. 47 and n. 2, a citation from Davy, *Pedigrees* ("Elmy"). According to a manuscript note of Fitzgerald, who investigated the family a generation after the poet's death, Eleanor later went mad and was under the care of Mary; cf. Huchon, p. 195, n. 3. The Lady Barnard here mentioned was probably the wife of Viscount Barnard of Barnard Castle in the bishopric of Durham; cf. Cockayne's *Peerage*. Whether the sister of Crabbe's fiancée was her friend or—in view of the Elmy's straitened circumstances—a gentlewoman companion, is perhaps impossible to discover.

for my apparent Delay.¹ If I could venture to flatter myself with the prospect, I do not know a single circumstance that would take from the agreeableness of it, & there are several that I could mention with great pleasure, but that you would be then more sorry for my Disappointment.

It happens a little unfortunately that the place my friends here chose for me is Aldbro', and in this Interval of Suspence I consider it, more than a little so; but there it is most convenient on account of two neighboring half Curacies to which Mr Long² and his friends will procure me a title. I cannot say to them that I have no peace there; that I was very miserable and miserably heated [*sic*; *qy.* hated?] and cannot esteem a great part of the Inhabitants who must be conscious that they did not use me well.³ It is [not] every one; it is hardly any one can make [such] delicate allowances for prejudices in favour [of others] which you do, nor for those against them and I determine to bear this Inconvenience as a small one, nor would have mentioned it, but the better view afforded me in your Letter forced me on the comparison and that gives me a Dissatisfaction which I hope will be but temporary.

On this subject I may further say (though perhaps it is not a proper place for it) that my affection & my Duty to my father, leads me to avoid him.—It is only to you Sir that I can say these things. My Father & I are in perfect agreement; we parted with every appearance of it & I am persuaded there was Deceit in none; but if I live in the same Place, I know that it is impossible to please him and others or myself: to separate our interests without making him angry or unite them without making myself miserable; his employments, his inclinations, his connexions & mode of living are so different from my own that there is no way to preserve that Harmony there is and should be betwixt us, but by

¹ Probably the chaplaincy at Belvoir Castle, whose incumbent, the Rev. George Turner, was soon to retire for "reasons of health," as Burke learned at some undetermined date; cf. Huchon, p. 135. Although the chaplaincy was not vacated until the following spring, Burke must have anticipated such an event long before—as Crabbe's letter of March 27, 1781, cited above, would indicate. According to Lord Holland, *Memoirs of the Whig Party* (London, 1852), vol. 1, p. 256, Burke had early recommended Crabbe to the Duke of Rutland through Lord John Townshend. "My apparent delay" refers to Crabbe's preliminary studies.

² Dudley Long, who lived at Saxmundham with his eldest brother Charles, who in 1774 had been the Whig candidate for Aldborough. Early in 1780, before setting out for London, Crabbe had addressed "a very extraordinary letter" to Dudley Long, requesting a loan of £5 for travelling expenses, which was granted. See "Life of Crabbe," *Poetical Works*, p. 13. On August 24, 1781, Crabbe had written to Burke: "I lately visited the Mr. Longs at Saxmundham, and was received by both with more than civility. Mr. Dudley Long spoke to me concerning the Bishop of Norwich, and the probability of his consent to my ordination." (*Correspondence of Burke*, vol. II, p. 430; the editor notes that Mr. Long later took the name of North, upon the inheritance of certain estates, and sat for many years as M.P. for Banbury).

³ For Crabbe's feud with the inhabitants of Aldborough, dating from his attempt to practise medicine there in the face of petty jealousies and unpaid bills, see "Life of Crabbe," *Poetical Works*, pp. 6, 9, and 29, and the poet's own account to Burke in the "Bunbury letter," Huchon, *op. cit.*, p. 495.

our Separation [*sic*] : I know that I give you pain in speaking thus, but I beg that you would not have too low an idea of my filial Duty : I love my father, but I have other Duties and stronger Affection & cannot give up these tho' I could many things, to his pleasure—¹.

This and every other consideration make me wish to avoid a place, where however if I be situated I will endeavour to be satisfied and to give satisfaction ; but these things will I hope be my Excuse to my friends there, for my readiness to depart whenever an opportunity offers :—².

I have received a very obliging Letter from Dr. Warren³ and a present of some Books which he recommends to me : Sir Charles Bunbury⁴ wrote also very kindly : Mr. Long⁵ has repeatedly written to me & his friends in my favour and General Burgoyne⁶ now interests himself to serve me ; for all these & what is more than all, for your own continued and unmerited Favour and friendship, I am indebted to you ; and every Instance of their attention to me makes me more your Debtor, & more happy under the Obligation.

I cannot speak particularly of your Letter in which there is no part that does not delight me. I beg you will not look particularly at mine, in which there is no part that I am not ashamed of ; I shall make some apology for it I hope on Monday when I shall have the pleasure of leaving London for Beaconsfield and ceremonious civility for all that is excellent and agreeable.

¹ Curiously enough, Mr. Charles Long, mentioned above, had an indirect share in the change of character which made the senior Crabbe incompatible with his son. In the "Life of Crabbe," *Poetical Works*, p. 9, we read : "In 1774 there was a contested election at Aldborough, and the Whig candidate, Mr. Charles Long, sought and found a very able and zealous partisan and agent in Mr. Crabbe. From that period his family dated the loss of domestic comfort, a rooted taste for the society of the tavern, and such an increase in the violence of his temper, that his meek-spirited wife, now in poor health, dreaded to hear his returning footsteps. If the food prepared for his meal did not please his fancy, he would fling the dishes about the room, and all was misery and terror."

² The mixed feelings with which Crabbe, moderately successful, returned to Aldborough and its bitter memories, are described by his son, *Poetical Works*, p. 29.

³ Dr. John Warren (1730-1800) became Bishop of St. David's in 1779. Sir Charles Bunbury had interceded with him on Crabbe's behalf, but in the end little benefit was derived from Dr. Warren, who remained cool and suspicious. Cf. Huchon, pp. 127-8.

⁴ Sir Charles Bunbury (1740-1821), whose awakened interest in Burke's protégé has been noted above, approached Dr. Yonge, Bishop of Norwich ; he proved to be more sympathetic, and allowed Crabbe to proceed to his ordination. Bunbury remained a life-long friend ; see Crabbe's letter sent with a copy of *The Parish Register*, October 8, 1807, in *Correspondence of Sir Thomas Hanmer*, pp. 450-51.

⁵ Both Dudley and Charles Long used their influence with the Bishop of Norwich ; see "Life of Crabbe," *Poetical Works*, p. 28.

⁶ General John Burgoyne (1722-1792) had lately returned from America after his crushing defeat at Saratoga, on parole to find his best friends in Fox, Burke, and other Whigs opposing the American War. See a cordial letter from Burgoyne to Burke, August 2, 1781, shortly before the date of Crabbe's letter, in *Correspondence of Burke*, vol. II, pp. 417-19. Under the Rockingham Ministry in 1782 he was made commander-in-chief in Ireland. His authorship of plays gave him a certain interest in literary men.

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I fear that I do not convey to you my earnest wishes to be situated in the manner you mention, & the reason is that I fear to indulge them; but pray Sir let not this indicate a want of that gratitude which would be very thankful for the situation, or that Discernment which sees the value in it.

My most respectful compliments & earnest thanks will be accepted by Mrs. Burke, which shadowy tribute is all I can pay you Sir for what there is no adequate payment to be made, and I am afraid by awkward acknowledgments I add to the Debt as they are the only part of it of which you complain. I will therefore only say that

I am your honoured and obliged
humble servant

Geo. Crabbe

Parliament reassembled on November 27, 1781, and Crabbe—who in the interval may have carried out his intended visit to Beaconsfield, as expressed above—was invited to live with, or else very near, the Burkes in London.¹ Despite the doubts raised by the Bishop of St. David's on the score of Crabbe's "moral worth" and his demand for a probationary period, chiefly because Crabbe was not a university man or in the narrower sense a gentleman, the poet did obtain the favour of the Bishop of Norwich, and was ordained deacon, with the title of curate to the Rev. James Benet, Rector of Aldborough, on December 21, 1781.² His fears about the old ill will and petty snobberies of Aldborough were all too well justified.³ But after "a few months," as the son George Crabbe writes, "my father received a letter from Mr. Burke, informing him that, in consequence of some conversation he had held with the Duke of Rutland, that nobleman would willingly receive him as his domestic chaplain at Belvoir Castle, as soon as he could get rid of his existing engagements at Aldborough."⁴ Crabbe's reply is his seventh known letter to Burke; dated from Beccles, April 16, 1782,

¹ See "Life of Crabbe," *Poetical Works*, pp. 27-8, and Huchon, p. 128.

² Huchon, pp. 128-9, who cites the official "attestation."

³ The son writes: "When I asked him how he felt when he entered the pulpit at Aldborough, for the first time, he answered, 'I had been unkindly received in the place—I saw unfriendly countenances about me, and, I am sorry to say, I had too much indignation, though mingled, I hope, with better feelings, to care what they thought of me or my sermon'" (*Poetical Works*, p. 31). His continued feud with the "bold, artful, surly, savage race" of these shores coloured his next published work, *The Village*. The contumely of which Crabbe speaks in the letter above found expression when the daughters of a local ship-owner, while "smoothing their black mittens," observed, "We never thought much of Mr. Crabbe"; see *Two Suffolk Friends* (London, 1895), p. 58, by Francis Hindes Groome, an account of local reminiscences.

⁴ "Life of Crabbe," *Poetical Works*, p. 31.

it congratulates Burke upon his recent accession to office as Paymaster of the Forces, and announces: "Having procured a successor to my curacies, I expect to be in town within a few days—and for a few."¹ Nothing appears to be recorded of this journey, but certainly Crabbe continued his theological studies, and was ordained priest on August 4, 1782, at Norwich in the Bishop's Palace.² At some undetermined time, but clearly not very long thereafter, Crabbe left Beccles for his chaplaincy at Belvoir Castle.

The eighth letter to Burke, now first published, lacks the year in its date, but upon internal evidence must be assigned to 1782. Crabbe is still at Beccles on August 26, and answers Burke's request relayed in a recent letter from the Duke of Rutland "to see my Verses on his Brothers Death." Lord Robert Manners, brother of Crabbe's new patron, was captain of the *Resolution*; in an engagement with the French fleet on April 12, 1782, he was killed. Crabbe contributed a "character" of him to *The Annual Register* for 1783,³ and in his honour composed an elegiac passage at the close of *The Village*, Book II, lines 115–207. It is probable that the verses alluded to in the following letter were an early draft of these lines, first published in May, 1783.

Beccles 26th August

Dear Sir,

I thought myself greatly Honoured by a Letter I lately received from the Duke of Rutland, because he told me, I was the subject of some Conversation he had with you.⁴ I was proud & pleased with the Desire you express to see my Verses on his Brothers Death & thought it a fair opportunity of asking your kind corrections. a correction however—(perhaps more kind than even yours) has prevented my sending you the Copy; for I have been much too ill to write, and am not now well enough to write so much. within a few days I hope to leave this place, & after that, to think of my Rhymes again; though concerning my

¹ *Correspondence of Burke*, vol. II, pp. 475–6.

² Huchon, p. 136, from the diocesan records.

³ Reprinted in Appendix to "The Village", *Poetical Works*, pp. 121–3. Under contract with Dodsley, Burke had undertaken in 1758 to bring out *The Annual Register*, and for some years thereafter did the major part of the book-reviews; investigation suggests that Burke maintained some connection with *The Annual Register* down to 1788. An unpublished inquiry into this topic which I have read is T. W. Copeland, *Burke's Authorship of the Book Reviews in the Annual Register*, Yale dissertation, 1933. Hence it seems quite likely that Crabbe contributed this article at Burke's invitation.

⁴ Charles Manners, fourth Duke of Rutland (1754–1787), though a staunch Tory and a warm admirer of Pitt, had at least a polite acquaintance with Burke, as the above letter shows. For his career see *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Disorder the principal Sympton of which is a perpetual Giddiness, perhaps Verses are not the thing, I ought to allow myself.

I earnestly hope Mrs. Burke is well, as his Grace informed me you were. I beg my very respectful compliments to her & the family. I repeat my most hearty thanks for all your favours, & am ever proud of my first & most excellent friend.—

Why do not all men see your virtues as I do? I am uncharitable enough to suppose they do & are therefore afraid of you.¹ I too am afraid, but it is so with much affection, that it is ever my earnest wish to be with you & to hear that you are happy & for this I allow myself credit; The Frenchman who wrote Maxims says "There is hardly any one who does not repay great obligations with ingratitude."² Now as I am sure my obligations to you are very great, & equally sure that I feel myself very grateful, I am willing to acquiesce in y^e Sentiment in order to honour myself with the Reputation of being among the few

I am ever

Dear Sir

your greatly obliged
and obedient Servant
George Crabbe

Apparently the only letter preserved from Burke to Crabbe, published by the poet's son, was written four months after the above, on December 26, 1782. It refers to two short letters from Burke which evidently never reached Crabbe, and also shows that the poet—upon a visit to London in company with the Duke of Rutland—had left a manuscript, probably *The Village*, for Burke's perusal.³

The last known letter from Crabbe to Burke, here published for the first time, is dated April 28, 1786. Within the intervening years Crabbe had married Sarah Elmy and brought her to call upon the

¹ The criticisms and innuendoes which pursued Burke throughout his public career—tales about manipulation of East India stock, the supposed dishonesty or the nepotism which favoured his brother Richard and his "cousin" William in their none too savoury affairs, the charge that Burke was secretly a Papist and busy with intrigues, and similar charges—are well known. They are reflected in dozens of contemporary newspaper squibs, and were collected with zeal by Burke's first biographer, M'Cormick. At the time of the above letter, just as Burke was quitting the Pay Office following the death of Rockingham, the most popular aspersion was that "Burke was very reluctant to abandon an office whose emoluments were as convenient to him as to his spendthrift colleague" [Fox], and had attempted ungracefully to hang on to his sinecure. See Morley's *Burke* (English Men of Letters ed.), p. 99.

² La Rochefoucauld, *Maximes*, ccxcix: "Presque tout le monde prend plaisir à s'acquitter des petites obligations: beaucoup de gens ont de la reconnaissance pour les médiocres; mais il n'y a quasi personne qui n'ait de l'ingratitude pour les grandes."

³ First published in *Poetical Works*, p. 33, but without date—which is supplied by Huchon, *op. cit.*, p. 145, from the original MS. in the Broadley Collection.

Burkes,¹ had left the gloomy magnificence of Belvoir Castle with its absentee master, and had embarked upon the humble duties of a country rector. Now that he was established securely though modestly, Crabbe seems to have had little commerce with Burke—who was increasingly engrossed in affairs of State that led up to the impeachment of Hastings. The poet never lost his lively sense of gratitude, nor on the other hand his impulse to solicit an occasional favour from his generous friend.

Sir,

It is so long since I did myself the honour of writing to you that I had thoughts of troubling you with a Letter though for no other purpose than to shew that I can neither forget your favours to me nor think of them in Silence; but deferring my Respect I now yield to my Necessity and instead of rendering you thanks I solicit your Assistance; making no other Apology than the Occasion itself, for I know if what I ask to be proper you will do it, and if not, you will have the goodness to forgive me.

I have just received an Account from Suffolk, that the Death of my Father is to be daily expected.² He has for a long time past lived in great Harmony with his Family & this is the sole Comfort he leaves with them; I think Sir speaking of my own Affairs I have taken the Liberty to acquaint you with his which he has not had time to retrieve much less to make provision for his Children: by his Death there will be vacant a small place in the Gift of the Commissioners of the Customs called the Waiter & Searcher's place, I believe about £40 a year; ³ I have a Brother nearly destitute of any provision, a young Man of good Character & I think of good parts,⁴ to whom it would be of the greatest Service & if you Sir are acquainted with any of the Commissioners, which I thought not

¹ This single meeting between Crabbe's wife and the Burkes, mentioned in the letter which follows, took place on June 10, 1784, in Charles-Street, St. James's Square. See letter of Mrs. Leadbeater to Crabbe, November 7, 1816, in *Leadbeater Papers* (London, 1862), vol. II, p. 335.

² However, the elder Crabbe did not die until June 3, 1786. His reconciliation with his son the poet and an apparent mellowing of his disposition with the years are suggested in the "Life of Crabbe," *Poetical Works*, p. 28.

³ In the Public Record Office, "An Account of the Officers and Employments existing in the Salt Duties" (as of Jan. 5, 1779), one finds: "Assistant Searchers and Boatsmen—Aldborough: George Crabbe—salary per annum £10"; q. Huchon, p. 16, n. 1.

⁴ Of Crabbe's three brothers then living, this is almost certainly Robert (1758–1835), who unlike William and John did not go to sea; cf. Huchon, p. 371, n. 4. His being a guest at George's table soon after the poet's return to Aldborough (unpublished letter q. in Huchon, p. 133, n. 1, from Broadley Collection), and their meetings at Blythburgh over "tea and a glass of punch," and the testimony of the poet's son that they were "much attached to each other's society" (*Poetical Works*, p. 31)—all suggest the solicitude which would seem to have inspired the above letter. I have been unable to find any evidence that Robert Crabbe succeeded to this very obscure post.

improbable as they are Men of some weight & consequence, I will be greatly obliged to you to mention my Brother as a person fit for his Fathers place if it be not already promised. I know these things are generally asked for some of their friends by the Members of the Borough, but I doubt much if our Members have any Interest with the Commissioners or we with them, nor do I recollect any person in the place who has so reasonable a Claim to it as my Brother or is so fit to undertake it ; for these Reasons I have ventured to beg your Interest Sir if it lies in your way and can be done without giving you too much trouble.

Mrs. Crabbe joins with me in our most respectful Compliments to Mrs. Burke and the family, whom she almost regrets that she once saw because it is so uncertain if she can see them again : this Country is not Buckingham shire¹ nor—but I must not murmur : I am thankful for what it is and I thank you.²

I have the Honour to be

Dear Sir

your very grateful

and most obliged Servant

George Crabbe

Belvoir Castle³

April 28, 1786

I omitted to mention that the place my Father lives in, is Aldborough in Suffolk.—

¹ Burke's estate, Gregories, was in Buckinghamshire.

² Respecting Crabbe's dissatisfaction at being one of His Grace's pensioners, see the testimony of the poet's son : " The situation he filled at Belvoir was attended with many painful circumstances, and productive in his mind of some of the acutest sensations of wounded pride that have ever been traced by any pen " (*Poetical Works*, p. 32). Elsewhere he writes : " I must also add, that although he owed his introduction to Burke, his adherence, however mild, to the Whig tenets of Burke's party may not have much gratified the circles of Belvoir " (*ibid.*, p. 36). In his usual diffident, apologetic manner Crabbe in the above letter is hinting to Burke that a change would be welcome. Having already quit Belvoir as a permanent abode in favour of the parsonage at Stathern, some three miles distant, Crabbe continued to absent himself more and more from the ducal quarters, until in November, 1792—five years after the death of his patron, the fourth Duke—the poet moved to Ducking Hall, in the neighbourhood of his native place.

³ Until his final break with Belvoir, Crabbe returned there from time to time in his role of chaplain. See also his letter to the Duke of Rutland, September 29, 1785 : " I once more have to thank Your Grace for your very kind permission for my returning to Belvoir, should we find Stathern very unhealthy " (*Historical MSS. Commission*, report 12, vol. 1, p. 244, London, 1889, from the original at Belvoir Castle).

NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS

THE PORTRAITS IN CHAUCER'S FABLIAUX

IN his lectures on Chaucer published several years ago, Mr. J. L. Lowes made a number of illuminating remarks on Chaucer's descriptions of the characters in his *fabliau* Tales.¹ He suggested that the wealth and vividness of the realistic detail in these accounts made them surpass the portraits of the General Prologue. In particular, his discussion of the portrait of Alisoun in the *Miller's Tale* indicated the identity of this with the many formal catalogue descriptions in French courtly literature, and revealed in what ways Chaucer, by drawing upon his personal observation of ordinary life, vivified the old rhetorical device.

It would be difficult to say more about the realism of these delineations, but additional information on the presence and nature of such formal descriptions in the previous *fabliaux* will help to show historically the manner in which Chaucer treated his sources, and the deliberateness of his realistic depictions. From a brief consideration of the descriptions in the literary *genre* which Chaucer adopted comes renewed sense of his creative purpose.

The portrait or *effictio* was a device of mediæval rhetoric and was employed universally by poets in a variety of art forms in order to produce a surface impression of elaborate and decorative brilliance.² Structurally it was a rigid catalogue of physical features listed in strict succession from the head to the feet. Artificial in representation, it did not attain any elasticity of form or freedom of diction in the many centuries of its poetic use. In chivalric literature it became the almost invariable method of presenting feminine beauty. Because of this, the portrait was associated and made almost synonymous with aristocratic poetry. The writers of the *fabliaux* incor-

¹ J. L. Lowes, *Geoffrey Chaucer* (Boston, 1934), pp. 218-22.

² A detailed historical study of this device has been made by the present writer. *Chaucer and Medieval Verse Portraiture* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation in the Yale University Library). Some of this material appears in another form in that essay.

porated the standardized *effictio* as part of their narrative technique, and it became a traditional element of these tales.

The *fabliau* had its origin in a group of versified Latin tales of the twelfth century.¹ These stories, known as *comœdia*, have been collected and edited recently in an authoritative text.² *Comœdia* were regarded as narratives in elegiac verse, written in a familiar style with a happy ending,³ and were modelled upon Ovid's verse tales, then being used in the schools as examples of narrative art.⁴ While they dealt with contemporary life and were not edifying from any serious point of view, they were essentially learned works, written by scholars who made use of every trope of rhetoric.⁵ Formal portraits appear in all but two of these extant tales,⁶ are uniform in purpose, and similar in style.

The portrait serves to present the physical appearance of both men and women, and in almost every instance it is highly stylized and stereotyped in diction, with little or no attempt at realistic portrayal. There is no actual characterization, and the portrait remains a decorative embellishment, in spite of the fact that such courtly elaborateness was hardly appropriate in a popular story of contemporary life.

The Old French *fabliaux* were the successors to the popular Latin tales.⁷ Here we find ourselves faced with a curious problem. These brief verse tales, which deal so largely with bourgeois and lower-class situations, would theoretically be the obvious place for portraiture to be applied freely to a variety of people. With an emphasis upon realism of action,⁸ we should expect realism of description. The tradition of portraiture, however, is relatively meagre.⁹ It may be that the brevity of the stories and the concentration upon plot rather than character forced the authors to reject all elaborations

¹ F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Latin Secular Poetry* (Oxford, 1934), vol. 2, p. 55.

² G. Cohen, *La "Comédie" Latine en France au XII^e Siècle* (Paris, 1931), 2 vols.

³ F. J. E. Raby, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

⁴ F. J. E. Raby, *ibid.*, p. 54.

⁵ F. J. E. Raby, *ibid.*, p. 68.

⁶ The *Aulularia* and *Pamphilus* show no traces. Cf. for portraits G. Cohen, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 48, 135; 136-7, 168-9, 234-5, and vol. 2, pp. 32, 70, 143-4, 233-4.

⁷ For an excellent study of all aspects of this genre, cf. J. Bédier, *Les Fabliaux* (Paris, 1925).

⁸ For the stylistic qualities of the *fabliaux* cf. also W. M. Hart, "The Narrative Art of the Old French Fabliaux" in *Kittredge Anniversary Papers* (Boston, 1913), pp. 209-16.

⁹ A survey of the extant versions in the definitive collection, *Recueil Général et Complet des Fabliaux*, edited by A. de Montaiglon et G. Raynaud (Paris, 1872-90), 6 vols., produces only seven portraits.

of style. M. Joseph Bédier comments upon the compression of these tales as one of their special literary qualities, and remarks that "ses narrations sont trop nues, ses descriptions écourtées."¹

When the portrait does occur,² it is in diction, arrangement, and content similar to other conventional mediæval usages, especially those in the chivalric romances. All individualistic traits or special physical features are neglected in favour of a rhetorical, artificial vocabulary. The feminine portraits are especially marked by this quality and resemble the elaborate descriptive catalogues of courtly literature.³

This curious incongruity between decorative elegance and bald incident indicates that, for the authors of these tales, the only means of personal description was the highly formalized portrait replete with stereotyped diction. Using courtly literature as a standard of excellence in writing, the poets could not avoid using these tricks of artistry in essentially bourgeois poetry. Thus in the *fabliaux* the most obvious place for realism to invade portraiture, we find a traditional form reappearing in all of its artificial conventionality.

Chaucer adopted the *fabliau* in four of his *Tales*, and in three of them uses portraiture freely. For some reason he did not incorporate any formal descriptions into *The Shipman's Tale*, although the intrigue plot of a merchant, his wife, and a priest afforded ample opportunity for them. We do not have the exact sources of Chaucer's narratives, but we do have analogues for some of them. Storiographers have endeavoured to reconstruct from these the development of the themes, and it seems very likely that all of the tales came to Chaucer in the form of French originals. Genealogical studies of the various versions of *The Miller's Tale* indicate that this was developed by Chaucer from a French source.⁴ For the episodes

¹ J. Bédier, *op. cit.*, p. 347.

² For examples cf. *Recueil Général, op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 14, 231-2; vol. 2, pp. 48, 94-6; vol. 3, pp. 5-6, 237-8; vol. 6, pp. 180-1.

³ J. Bédier, *op. cit.*, p. 350, n. 2, comments on this fact: "Ce sont les mêmes traits élégants, peu individuels, qui dessinent aussi les portraits, non plus de vilaines ou des bourgeoises, mais des hautes et puissantes femmes de barons, comme d'ailleurs dans les aristocratiques romans de Chrétien de Troyes."

⁴ Cf. especially on this point, H. Varnhagen, "Zu Chaucer's Erzählung des Müllers" in *Anglia, Anz.*, vii. 81-4; J. Zupitza's review of A. Pollard's edition of *The Canterbury Tales* in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, xciv. 443-45. In an analysis of the relation of a Middle Dutch "boerde" which is contemporaneous with Chaucer, A. J. Barnouw, "Chaucer's 'Miller's Tale'" in *Modern Language Review*, vii. 145-8, upholds the French original of Chaucer. After a survey of all of the scholarship, F. N. Robinson, editor of *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Boston, 1933), p. 786, concludes that "Chaucer doubtless found the combination in his source, which is likely to have been a French *fabliau*."

composing *The Reeve's Tale* we have two fairly close analogues in Old French, which are representative of the source.¹ Although the fragmentary state of *The Cook's Tale* prohibits any conclusions about the nature of the story and its possible source, it apparently was to have been a *fabliau*. Investigations of the genesis of *The Shipman's Tale* point to a French origin.² There seems to be no good evidence then for doubting that Chaucer's *fabliau* Tales are based on French originals which corresponded in style and content to those extant versions which we have just examined.

Since we have seen a vigorously defined tradition of conventional representation in the French *fabliaux*, the question before us is how Chaucer, relying upon French originals, adapted this *genre* and especially its catalogue portraits. It is evident to any reader who is aware of this form that Chaucer employed the *effictio* with a frequency as great as, or perhaps even greater than, did the authors of the Latin and French stories. The most striking changes are its application to all members of society instead of its being reserved for ladies and knights of outstanding beauty, and its transformation from a bit of verse embellishment into a realistic portrayal and true characterization.

The portraits of Alisoun,³ Nicholas,⁴ and Absolom⁵ in the *Miller's Tale*; of Symkyn,⁶ his wife,⁷ and his daughter⁸ in the *Reeve's Tale*; and of Perkyn Revelour⁹ in the *Cook's Tale* illustrate clearly the manner in which Chaucer took a form of description restricted to the panegyric anatomizing of men and women of aristocratic position and applied it to all classes of society. To discuss in detail the ways in which Chaucer filled to overflowing the traditional mould with rich and concrete details of local imagery and personal observation would be to tread upon the acute analysis of Mr. Lowes.¹⁰

¹ Cf. on these analogues H. Varnhagen, "Die Erzählung von der Wiege" in *Englische Studien*, vol. ix, pp. 240-66, and G. Dempster, "On the Sources of the *Reeve's Tale*" in *The Journal of English and German Philology*, vol. xxix, pp. 473-88.

² Cf. in J. W. Spargo, "Chaucer's Shipman's Tale and the Lover's Gift Regained" in *Folklore Fellows Communications*, No. 91, p. 56: "There is no *a priori* reason why the *Shipman's Tale* should not have been taken over almost *verbatim* from an Old French *fabliau*." Cf. also F. N. Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 838: "The setting and the French phrase in l. 214 make it seem probable that Chaucer was following a French *fabliau*."

³ *The Miller's Tale*, 3233-3270. All references to Chaucer are to the text in *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, edited by F. N. Robinson (Boston, 1933).

⁴ *The Miller's Tale*, 3199-3220.

⁵ *The Reeve's Tale*, 3925-3941.

⁶ *The Cook's Tale*, 4365-4388.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 3312-3338.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 3942-3968.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 3973-3976.

¹⁰ Cf. J. L. Lowes, *op. cit.*

It is not my purpose to do this, but merely to supplement his critical examination with an historical introduction. We simply point out that the old incongruity of style and situation is broken down, and an æsthetic harmony is established between the realistic situations and the literary medium.

The deliberateness of this action of Chaucer can be revealed further by a brief glance at the extant analogues of the *Reeve's Tale*. One analogue, *De Gombert et des deux Clercs*,¹ contains no such portrait of the wife of the miller, and has only the slightest hint of personal description in a few phrases of very standardized phraseology which suggest a fragment snatched from a longer catalogue :

Quar la Dame est mingnote et cointe ;
Les iex ot vairs comme cristal.²

If this French text represents the version which Chaucer used, all he found in his source as authorization for a portrait was a highly conventional set of attributes which are completely obliterated in the reworking of the story.

An even greater disregard of the source can be seen in the slight sketch of the daughter. Both of the analogues for this episode contain a single remark of a conventional nature upon the appearance of the daughter. Jean de Boves remarks, "Quar la fille est et cointe et bele,"³ and the anonymous author of *The Miller and the Two Clerks* repeats the assertion, "La fille estoit et bele et cointe."⁴ It is very interesting to note that Chaucer's picture is a most unattractive account of this daughter who was traditionally so lovely.

Chaucer, then, inserts into his *fabliaux* a great number of very realistic portraits of his characters which are appropriate to the general realism of action and background. This correspondence is not typical of the Old French *fabliaux* or the mediæval Latin *comœdia*. As far as our factual study will permit us to formulate conclusions, we are able to infer that Chaucer's realistic portraits are his own contribution to the *genre*, a part of his endeavour to build up the verisimilitude of the *Tales* and the life they mirror.

LOUIS A. HASELMAYER.

¹ Jean de Boves, *De Gombert et des deux Clercs* in *Originals and Analogues of some of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, edited by F. J. Furnivall, E. Brock, and W. A. Clouston in *Chaucer Society*, vol. VIII, pp. 87-92.

² Jean de Boves, *op. cit.*, 10-11.

³ Jean de Boves, *op. cit.*, 17.

⁴ *The Miller and the Two Clerks* in *Anecdota Litteraria*, edited by T. Wright (London, 1849), p. 19, l. 161.

THOMAS SACKVILLE AND *A MIRROR FOR
MAGISTRATES*

THOMAS SACKVILLE is one of the great might-have-beens of literature. He appears to have written nothing after the age of twenty-four and comparatively little before that; yet not alone was he the outstanding poet of the age in which he was writing, but it is generally agreed that "his contributions to the *Mirror for Magistrates* contain the best poetry written in the English language between Chaucer and Spenser." These poems, the "Induction" and the "Complaint of the Duke of Buckingham," survive in two forms—as separate but continuous pieces in the 1563 and subsequent editions of *A Mirror for Magistrates*, as a single poem entitled "The Complaint of Henry Duke of Buckingham" in the autograph manuscript in St. John's College, Cambridge, which possesses, after the word *finis*, an incomplete draft epilogue not printed in the *Mirror*. This copy was discovered and reported some years ago by Miss Marguerite Hearsey, and her promised edition of the manuscript has recently appeared. It provides material for an inquiry which should lead to a clearer understanding of Sackville's short-lived literary activity and, at the same time, of the early history of the *Mirror* and its editing.

The main questions to be decided are those of when these poems were written and how the printed text is related to the autograph manuscript. In Miss Hearsey's view the work may have been composed when Sackville was twenty (that is, in 1556), but more probably immediately after the publication of Tottel's Miscellany (June, 1557). Miss Hearsey considers the possibility that the St. John's MS. was the copy actually used by the printer of the *Mirror*, but leaves the question undecided. In this study I hope to show that the facts justify both more confident, and different, conclusions.

The "tragedies" contained in the first edition of the *Mirror* (1559) cover the period from Richard II's reign to the end of Edward IV's. In the second edition (1563) the story is brought forward a few years by the addition of further tragedies, among them that of Buckingham. In the prose link introducing Sackville's contribution the editor, William Baldwin, tells something of the circumstances of its composition. An early attempt had been made in Queen Mary's reign to print the *Mirror* as a supplement to John Wayland's edition (n.d.[1554]) of Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*. After

Sackville understood (says Baldwin) that this issue had been prohibited in the form agreed upon, he planned, as an alternative publication, to take over from Baldwin "*al the tragedies that were before the duke of Buckingham*" and to "continue and perfect all the story himselfe," not "vnto this presente time," as had been originally intended, but back to William the Conqueror. Now if we can believe it—and all the evidence proves Baldwin to be a most faithful recorder of fact—this statement is most helpful, for it contains an important implication not hitherto observed. It seems to indicate that the tragedy of the Duke of Buckingham was in existence in some form, though not necessarily complete, at the time of which Baldwin speaks. That is to say, it was in existence *before Sackville learnt of the prohibition of the Wayland issue*. As it is reasonable to assume that he was writing it for Baldwin's enterprise and that as an interested party he would have been early informed of the suppression, the inference is that Sackville, at the age of eighteen, was among the original writers for the *Mirror*.

As for Sackville's alternative scheme, Baldwin would appear to have favoured it, for, as he tells us, "to make a meete induction into the matter" Sackville devised the Induction. That it was in fact intended as a general introduction to a series is evident from the poem itself, which clearly anticipates the recital of a number of complaints by unfortunate princes (stanzas 10, 17, 22), of whom "furst came henrie duke of buckinghame." Moreover, Buckingham addresses himself to Sackville, not, like the other heroes of the *Mirror*, to Baldwin:

And (*Sackville*) sith in purpose now thou hast
the wofull fall of princes to describe . . .
mark wel my fall.

If, as seems to be indicated, the tragedy was first taken in hand for Baldwin's collection, the only apparent change necessary to adapt it to the new scheme was the substitution of Sackville's name for Baldwin's.

If, then, the Induction was written after "Buckingham" was begun and was to have been followed by other tragedies, including those collected by Baldwin, what are we to make of the autograph manuscript, where the Induction and "Duke of Buckingham" are run together to form a single poem, and where no more tragedies follow, but only nine complete stanzas (and notes for more) beginning an epilogue? (In the Induction it was night when Sackville

visited the underworld to hear the complaints of the fallen princes ;
the epilogue starts by announcing the break of day :

Be this phæton whirled within his cart
made all the Orient blushe at his vprise,

and the author goes on to lament his insufficiency :

And lest of all I that haue les than lest
may once attempt to pen the smallest part
of those longe dolours boiling in the brest
of Buckingham.)

The conclusions are first that Sackville never went any further with his plan than to write his general introduction, and secondly that the manuscript belongs to a time when Sackville, having abandoned his scheme, sought to make his " Buckingham " an independent whole by tacking on the Induction at the beginning, and appending a balancing epilogue at the end. Such an epilogue must inevitably have consisted of mere padding (as is indeed attested by Sackville's own notes at the end of the MS.), and, wisely enough, he left it unfinished.

While Baldwin at one time must have entertained Sackville's proposal, he and his helpers went on bringing the story up to date, in accordance with their original plan, during the reign of Queen Mary. They were certainly at work on those lines before the death of Thomas Lord Vaux, which took place in October 1556, for in the first part of the Hastings-Induction link we read that Vaux had undertaken to pen King Edward's two sons, cruelly murdered in the Tower of London—" but what he hath done therein I am not certayne, & therefore I let it passe til I knowe farder." Before October 1556, then, it would seem that Sackville was not to have the tragedies " before the duke of Buckinghams " and was not to fill in the gaps in Baldwin's collection himself—and so that his scheme had fallen through. Here, therefore, is a date before which the Induction must have been written, at any rate in part.

So far the assumption of Baldwin's veracity has led us. Consideration of the main body of the manuscript yields nothing either to support or to conflict with these conclusions. Both parts of Sackville's poem show him to have been a keen student of Virgil, and (this is especially true of the Induction) contain a number of reminiscences of Douglas's complete translation of the *Aeneid* (printed 1553), a few of Surrey's rendering of bk. ii and (probably) one of his bk. iv (bk. iv printed 1554, bks. ii and iv, 1557). Again, there are

unmistakable reminiscences of two lyrics included in Tottel's Miscellany (Nos. 10 and 18), both the work of Surrey. While in the absence of other evidence it might be supposed that Sackville knew these lyrics and Surrey's second book of the *Aeneid* from printed copies, it would even so be at least equally possible that he had had access to them in manuscript.

The epilogue, however, which is peculiar to the manuscript and was obviously written later than the main body of the poem, appears to contain a useful indication of date. After some complimentary stanzas on Virgil, Ovid, and Chaucer, Sackville goes on to allude to Wyatt's *Penitential Psalms* and Surrey's *Aeneid*, and also to Surrey's

plaintes wherin he wrote his pain
when he lay fetterd in the fyre chain
of cruell love ;

but though Wyatt is acclaimed as

wortheist of them all
whom Brittain hath in later yeres furthbrought,

he is not credited with any lyric achievement. Now if Sackville was writing after the publication of Tottel's Miscellany (as Miss Hearsey inclines to think), he could hardly have avoided naming Wyatt as well as Surrey as a writer of love poems. But if, on the other hand, these verses were written before the appearance of *Songes and Sonettes*, then the mention of Surrey alone would be perfectly comprehensible, on the supposition that his were the love poems best known to Sackville, and of this we have some confirmation in the fact that the only lyrics unquestionably echoed in Sackville's poem are two of Surrey's. It is highly probable, therefore, that the epilogue was in course of composition before June 1557. This inference is of some importance, because in these stanzas there is the critical approval of Surrey's blank verse, which Sackville was the first to use as the medium of tragedy ; but the note at the end of the manuscript, showing how his thoughts were turning in the direction of Seneca, may of course have been jotted down at some later time.

That Sackville was thinking of publishing his poem by itself would seem unlikely. During the period July 19, 1557—July 9, 1558, John Walley and Mistress Toy were given licence to print, among other "ballettes," "The murnynge of Edward Duke of Buckynham," and it may be just possible that this was Sackville's "Complaint," left unpublished because left incomplete in the form

contemplated. The description, however, does not really fit his long poem, whereas there is another piece, "The Lamentacyon of Edward, late Duke of Buckyngham" (preserved in MS. Rawlinson C. 813), consisting of nine stanzas only, which it fits exactly.

The greater part of the new matter added in the 1563 edition was in Baldwin's hands before the death of Mary. This we know because it is possible from internal evidence to ascribe to her reign several of Baldwin's prose passages connecting the tragedies. But one, as Professor W. F. Trench showed, was written after the accession of Elizabeth—the one that follows "Buckingham." The almost certain inference is that Sackville did not hand over his contribution to Baldwin until after the *Mirror* of 1559 had been brought out. Then when the second part (into the chronological sequence of which Buckingham fitted) was being prepared for the printer to insert in the 1563 edition, Sackville allowed Baldwin to make use of his poems. Baldwin, recognizing the worth of the Induction, "woulde not haue any verse therof left out of our volume," and hence his preparatory explanation.

It remains to inquire the relation between the two versions. The autograph manuscript is clearly a transcript of an earlier copy (except towards the end, where it is largely a first draft), and contains author's corrections and additions made both during the act of transcription and later. In the *Mirror* the revised readings all appear; so Baldwin received a copy of the latest version of Sackville's work. The print, however, differs from the St. John's MS. in several respects: it alters the order of a number of stanzas in the Induction (making appropriate changes rendered necessary in consequence), leaves out a stanza in "Buckingham," rewrites an incomplete line, and contains numerous verbal alterations. Miss Hearsey believes that these changes were all authorized by Sackville: the altered order of the stanzas could (she thinks) have been due to the printers' oversight, and allowed to pass by Sackville as he read the proofs, at which time he could have made the other corrections; alternatively (she suggests) all the changes in question were contained in the manuscript he gave the printer. The crux of the first of Miss Hearsey's theories is the assumption that Sackville read the proofs of his work, and apart from the fact that he may have been out of England when the 1563 edition was printing, this may be doubted on other grounds. To mention only one objection, which seems also to invalidate Miss Hearsey's alternative, in the autograph

manuscript Sackville is careful to write *-ed* or *-de*, *the* or *th-*, *to* or *t-*, according as he wishes these sounds to be syllabic or not, whereas the print puts *-ed* and *-de* quite at haphazard, and invariably reads *the* and *to*. As Miss Hearsey herself says, "that Sackville made these changes in proof or had supplied the printer with a manuscript in which these spellings were used seems unlikely."

There is, however, a third possibility—that the printed text is the product of Baldwin's editing. In different copies of the 1563 edition there are different versions of the first page of the Induction. The one reads, in the title, "The Induction," and, in stanza 1 :

The tapets torne, and euey *blome* downe blownen.

(as in the autograph manuscript) ; the other, "Mayster Sackuilles Induction," and *tree*. Now "*The Induction*" looks like Sackville's own heading, whereas "Mayster Sackuilles Induction" looks like Baldwin's, substituted during the course of the printing to prevent misunderstanding. But if so, then the change of *blome* to *tree* on the same page was Baldwin's too. And this would suggest that the other verbal alterations in Sackville's contribution were also made by Baldwin, before the copy went to the printer—those on the first page being afterthoughts put into effect, as I have said, during the printing itself ; and the hypothesis that Baldwin edited Sackville's poems throughout leads, of course, to the conjecture that he likewise "corrected" the work of the other contributors.

This working hypothesis receives surprising confirmation in the alteration of the order of some of the stanzas in the Induction. These describe the allegorical figures met with at the entrance to the underworld. The autograph manuscript follows Virgil's order almost exactly, the abstractions succeeding one another according to no discoverable plan. In the printed version, on the other hand, an attempt is made to group them intelligibly thus—the ills that come from within, first, psychological : Remorse of Conscience, Dread, Revenge, Misery, Greedy Care ; second, physiological : Sleep, Old Age ; the ills that come from without : Malady, Famine, Death, War. It is unlikely in the extreme that Sackville, with his reverence for Virgil, should thus suddenly decide to depart from his original. Two corroborative changes are to be noted. In the print Poverty and Busy Labour appear, in despite of Virgil, under the names of Misery and Greedy Care. The description of Poverty suits Misery well enough ; but Greedy Care, with his

honest toil, is distinctly out of character in the borrowed semblance of Busy Labour. It is quite inconceivable that Sackville could have made these changes: they are the work of a moralist who declines to believe that Poverty and Busy Labour should be in such company standing at the mouth of Hell; and Baldwin, it will be remembered, was before all else a moralist. The work of the same critical, methodical mind may be detected in many of the verbal alterations in the printed version. There is not space to analyse the textual variations here, but I believe that in them we have a basis on which to establish an estimate of Baldwin's work as editor of the *Mirror for Magistrates*.

FITZROY PYLE.

SOME EARLIER EXAMPLES OF THE RHETORICAL
DEVICE IN *RALPH ROISTER DOISTER* (III. iv. 33 ff.)

ROISTER DOISTER's mispunctuated love letter in *Ralph Roister Doister* (III. iv. 36 ff.) is quoted by Thomas Wilson in the third edition (1553) of his *Rule of Reason*, but not in the second edition (1552). From this a date earlier than 1553 has been assigned to the play¹ and the love letter has been considered one of the earliest examples in English of the rhetorical device amusingly used later by Shakespeare—to mention only one example—in *Midsummer Night's Dream* (v. i. 108 ff.)

But Udall was by no means the first to employ this rhetorical device. An earlier example appears in verses of the beginning of the sixteenth century, printed by Bernard Fehr in 1901² from B. M. Addit. MS. 5465, fol. 12^b:

Nowe the lawe is led be clere conciens
full sylde covetise hath damnacion
In euery place ry3t hath residences
nethir in towne ne fylde simulacion
ther is trewly in euery case consolacion
the pore pepull no tyme hath but ry3t
men may fynd day ne ny3t adulacion
now raynyth trewly In euery mannys sy3t

Professor Fehr was evidently somewhat perplexed as to the meaning of these verses for, in a supplementary article³ he suggested that

¹ W. H. Williams and P. A. Robin, editors: *Ralph Roister Doister*, by Nicholas Udall, v. J. M. Dent and Sons, London, 1928.

² *Archiv*, CVI. 54. Includes a description of the MS.

³ *Archiv*, CIX. 71. Professor Fehr introduces this version of the text with the statement: "Eine neue Interpunktion . . . giebt einen befriedigenderen Sinn."

their interpretation would be made easier by rearranging the lines as follows :

Now the lawe is led be clere conciens full sylde ;
 covetise hath dominacion in euery place ;
 ryzt hath residens nethir in towne ne fylde ;
 simulacion ther is trewly in euery case ;
 consolacion the pore pepull no tyme hath ;
 but ryzt men may fynd day ne nyzt :
 adulacion now raynyth trewly In euery mannys syzt

It will be observed, however, that this attempt to clear up the meaning of the verses results in completely destroying the metrical structure of what was a perfectly regular eight-line stanza. It is doubtful whether Professor Fehr would have suggested this rearrangement if he had perceived the poet's ingenious design in constructing these verses expressly for the purpose of double interpretation.

The same verses—with slight verbal variations—are to be found in two other MSS., which have not hitherto been printed : Harley MS. 2250¹, fol. 84^b and Trinity College Cambridge MS. 366², fol. iii^a.

Harley MS. 2250

Now the law is lad by clere consciens	[fol 84 ^b col. 2]
full sheld covetys hath domynation	
In Euery place ryght hath residens	
nothyr in towne nor in feld	Similacoun
Ther is truly in euery case	consolacion
the pouer people no tyme has	Bot ryght
Men may fynd day nor nyzht	Advlation
Now rezyneth truteh [sic] in euery mannys syght	

Trinity College Cambridge MS. 366

	ledde ³	nce ⁴	[fol. iii ^a]
Nowe the lawe ys layde be clere conciens			
full sylde : Covetyse hath dominacion			
In euery place : Ry3th hath Residence			
In towne nor fylde : Simulacion			
Ther ys truly yn euery case : consolacion			
The pore pepull no tyme hath : butt Ry3th			
Men may fynde day nor ny3th : adulacion			
Nowe Reyneth . . . yn euery mannys syytte			
truthe ⁴			

Professor Carleton Brown kindly calls my attention to still another example of this same device hitherto unprinted, which occurs

¹ The description of this MS. in the *Catalogue of the Harleian MSS.* does not mention these verses, which are recorded on a fly-leaf.

² For a complete description of this MS. see M. R. James : *The Western MSS. in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge.* Cambridge, 1900.

³ Written above the line by a somewhat later scribe as a gloss on the text.

⁴ Supplied by the later scribe to fill the gap in the text.

in Pembroke College, Cambridge MS. 307,¹ fol. 197^b, of the fifteenth century.

In this case the scribe has copied the text twice in order to bring out the double interpretation :

A

Trusty . seldom to their ffrendys uniust . [fol. 197^b (a fly-leaf)]
 Gladd for to helpp . no crysten creator
 Wyllng to greve . setting all þeir ioy & lust
 Only in þe pleasour of god . havyng no cure
 who is moste riche . w^h them þey wyl be sewer
 wher nede is . gevyng neyther rewarde ne flee
 unreasonably . Thus lyve prestys, Parde.

B

Trusty seldom . to ther ffrendys uniust .
 Glade for to helpe no crysten creator .
 Wyllng to greve . setting all ther ioy & lust
 Only in þe pleasour . of gode havyng no cure .
 Who is moste riche w^h them þei wil be sure .
 Wher nede is gewyng nether rewarde ne flee .
 Unreasonably thus leve prestys, Parde.

That the same device had been employed earlier in Latin appears from an epigram in Arundel MS. 507, fol. 72^b, printed by Horstmann : ²

Laus tua non tua fraus virtus non copia rerum	{	Relegantur
Scandere te fecit hoc decus eximium.		isti versus
		& est sensus contrarius

However, I have not found any Latin examples of the device in more extended form.

JAMES R. KREUZER.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF *SPENCER REDIVIVUS*

ALTHOUGH not mentioned in Carpenter's *Reference Guide* nor in Miss Atkinson's *Supplement*, the *Spencer Redivivus* of 1687 has been known to scholars for some time as a curiosity of literature. The author, objecting to both Spenser's language and verse-form, rewrote the first book of the *Faerie Queene* in couplets and in modern

¹ For a complete description of this MS. see M. R. James : *A Descriptive Catalogue of the MSS. in the Library of Pembroke College, Cambridge*, p. 273. Cambridge, 1905.

² Carl Horstmann, editor : *Yorkshire Writers* 1. 427. New York, 1895.

English. This he justified at some length in his preface, which includes the following expression of his satisfaction with his own labours.

Nor do I doubt but every impartial Reader will find, that in the way I have undertaken to delineate and express him by, he is rendered what he ought to have been instead of what is to be found in himself.

The book was published by Thomas Chapman with the statement on the title-page that it was written by "a Person of Quality." This in itself would mean nothing, but it assumes some slight value as a clue when we find that in the *Term Catalogue* for Hilary Term 1688 the book is listed as by "E. H., Esq." I propose to suggest as the logical candidate for these letters the Honourable Edward Howard,¹ fifth son of Thomas Howard, Earl of Berkshire.

Edward Howard's career as a poet and dramatist can be traced in the *D.N.B.* and the British Museum Catalogue. What concerns us here is limited to his two attempts at heroic poetry: the *British Princes*, 1669, and *Caroloiades*, 1689. First, the *British Princes* is divided into books and cantos, an arrangement used only by Spenser before that time. Second, in both of these he mentions Spenser with admiration, and in one of them, *Caroloiades*, he speaks of couplets as more fitting for heroic poetry than stanzas. The latter passage may be quoted first:

As to my verse, I have avoided Stanza's; and my reason is, because I conceive them not so proper, as the freedom of Heroick Measures for a Poem of this Structure; and this choice of mine is not only suitable to the manner of Virgil and other Ancient Poets, but agreeable to the most approv'd sense of Modern Criticism: I need not but instance the Judicious Rapin, who assures us that the Compiling of Stanza's was the mistake of some late Italian Poets, who first introduc'd them into their Heroick Poems, and that they weaken the beauty and flame of the Verse in the length of their periods, on which, for the most part, the main substance of their sense does depend.

This may be compared with the following passage from the preface to *Spencer Redivivus*:

For as the Writing in Stanza's must render the Verse sententious and constrain'd, the most weighty part of their meaning still to be expected at the Period of the Stanza; so, in that consideration, their composure must needs be less difficult than where the force of a single line is to be weighed apart.

¹ I owe the suggestion of Howard, along with other candidates who turned out to be unsuitable, to my colleague Mr. H. G. Platt.

Let us now turn to the passages on Spenser. In the *British Princes* there is a long passage in the preface which must be quoted entire :

Yet have these our Native Poets deservedly merited esteem, perhaps above those any other Nation has produced in the times they lived ; and of these the most considerable I think may be granted our famous *Spencer*, and the late Sir *William Davenant*, (not considering *Daniel*, *Drayton*, and the like, rather Historians than Epicke Poets) the first of whom is granted a parallel to most of the Antients, whose Genius was in all degrees proportion'd for the work he accomplished, or for whatsoever structures his Muse had thought fit to raise, whose thoughts were like so many nerves and sinews ready with due motion and strength to actuate the body he produced ; nor was the success of his Poem less worthy of Admiration, which notwithstanding it be frequent in words of obsolete signification, had the good fortune to have a Reception suitable to its desert, which tells us the age he writ in, had a value for sense above words, though perhaps he may have received deservedly some censure in that particular, since our Language (when he writ) was held much improved, that it has been the wonder as well as pity of some, that so famous a Poet should so much obscure the glory of his thoughts, wrapt up in words and expressions, which time and use had well nigh exploded : And though words serve our uses but like Counters or numbers to summe our intellectual Products, yet must they be currant as the money of the Age, or they will hardly pass.

In *Caroloiades*, while answering the objection that an heroic poem cannot be written consonant with Christianity, Howard wrote the following paragraph.

I need but mention the Great *Tasso*, and our famous *Spencer*, by whose Poems, tho' the Productions of Latter Times, and agreeable to Evangelical persuasion, it is very clear that neither as to Fiction or Allegory, they wanted any Necessary Ingredients or supplements, if compar'd with such Poets who had been precedent to Christian Belief. I shall not present my Reader with any Inspections into the Poem of *Spencer*, it being upon the matter wholly Allegory, and therefore not so proper to the Application I intend.

These passages, showing the highest respect for Spenser as an heroic poet, agree in tone with the longer and more elaborate praise of Spenser in the preface to *Spencer Redivivus*. In this preface there are also remarks very similar to those quoted from the *British Princes* on the subject of Spenser's language.

There needs not to be urged a surer Refutation of all Opposers, than the marvelous esteem of this Author, notwithstanding the obsoleteness of

his English and Verse, who lived within a hundred years of our Time. But how to excuse the choice of the Language he writ in, that he could not but know, was of too antequate a Date, if not generally exploded by all Writers in the time he liv'd; or why he should not conceive himself oblig'd to impart the Tongue of that season as currant as he found it, I cannot apprehend.

Not only is the substance of these two passages remarkably similar, but we also find in both the use of the word *exploded* in the same connection as well as the idea of language being *currant* in its own age.

We find, then, that Edward Howard was a writer who had composed two heroic poems in couplets, that he had given Spenser extravagant praise in both of them, and that in one he had commented on Spenser's language in a manner closely similar to that in the preface to *Spencer Redivivus*. Furthermore, the long discussion of the nature of heroic poetry in this preface is exactly what we would expect from the author of two heroic poems. I believe that, unless a better candidate can be found, we should consider him to be the E. H. given by the *Term Catalogue* as the author of *Spencer Redivivus*. If this attribution be accepted, we have added notably to our conception of Spenser's reputation and the criticism of his work in the Restoration period.

LEICESTER BRADNER.

THE CANON OF SWIFT

IN the April number of *R.E.S.*, pp. 182-9, Mr. Paul Vern Thompson discusses the ascription to Swift by Barrett (*Essay on the Earlier Part of the Life of Swift*) of the *Tripes* pronounced in Trinity College, Dublin, in July 1688, and ostensibly composed by John Jones. Although Mr. Thompson makes no mention of the fact, the evidence was summarized by me in my edition of the *Poems of Jonathan Swift*, pp. 1055-7. The *Tripes* was probably the work of several hands. Whether or not Swift had any part in it can, as I concluded, be no more than a matter of empty speculation.

But Mr. Thompson passes on to point out that one of the verse pieces contained in the *Tripes*, beginning:

There's scarce a well-drest coxcomb, but will own
Tommy's the prettiest spark about the town,

ridiculing a certain Thomas Weaver, appeared in a different version in Motteux's *Gentleman's Journal* for August–September, 1694. The poem was received from Dublin, sent by an unknown hand. We know that Swift was in Ireland from about the middle of June 1694 to the latter part of May 1696, and Mr. Thompson suggests that the unknown hand was Swift's. But during the summer and autumn of 1694 Swift, who had, for the time being, left Sir William Temple's roof, was busied with thoughts of his future and his impending ordination. It is unlikely that he would, at this time, be furbishing up old verses, if he ever wrote them, for dispatch to an English periodical. The appearance in English newspapers or periodicals of contributions acknowledged as coming from Ireland is frequent, and argues nothing.

Mr. Thompson, however, takes one step further. "Swift," he says, "had contributed at least once before to *The Gentleman's Journal*, and that only a few weeks earlier, in July 1694." He alludes to the "Ode to King William on his Successes in Ireland." But this poem was contributed to *The Gentleman's Journal* for July 1692, not 1694. Furthermore, I have shown, *The Poems of Jonathan Swift*, pp. 4–13, that Nichols's attribution of this ode to Swift has nothing to recommend it, and is almost certainly wrong. Deane Swift tells us that the "Ode to King William" was written in a "Pindarique way" (Nichols's *Literary Illustrations*, v. 382), whereas the ode in *The Gentleman's Journal* is in rhyming quatrains. I have recovered and printed, in my edition of the *Poems*, a pindaric "Ode to the King on his Irish Expedition," which is, most probably, the authentic poem.

The evidence for or against the ascription to Swift of any part of the *Tripes* remains where it was.

HAROLD WILLIAMS.

A NOTE ON ANNOT AND JOHON

AMONG the poems in Carleton Brown's collection, *English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century*, is included (as No. 76) an interesting *tour de force* to which the editor has given the name "Annot and Johon." In his notes, Brown pointed out (p. 224) that the poem had previously been printed by Wright and by Bøddeker. He failed, however, to mention that it had also been printed in part by Warton and by

Guest. Lines 1-18 and 27-30 are quoted by Warton in his *History of English Poetry*; in the edition of 1824 they appear in vol. I, p. 34. In Guest's *History of English Rhythms* (1838), the first three stanzas, together with a modern rendering, are given in vol. II, pp. 298-300. Guest's note on the name *Annot* is of particular interest. He writes (p. 300):

it is clear that the poet's name was *John*; and his lady's is just as clearly *Annot* and not *Joan*, as Warton strangely surmises.

Brown's note (p. 225) on lines 28-30 thus records a discovery which Guest had already made.

KEMP MALONE.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE EDITOR, *The Review of English Studies*.

DEAR SIR,

Dr. J. H. Walter's recent article on Glapthorne's *Revenge for Honour*¹ provides many welcome additions to our knowledge of this obscure play. The wealth of material he has found for a date approximating 1640, however, has led him to treat the question whether the play may not be a revision somewhat over-confidently. It seems to me very difficult to slight the evidence that the title of the work as entered in *The Stationers' Register* in 1653—"The Paraside or Revenge for Honour by Henry Glapthorne"—is identical with the anonymous (and lost) play, *The Parracide*, which was licensed by Herbert on May 27, 1624, to the Prince's men, then at the Red Bull. Against the traditional view that these titles indicate some link between the two plays, Dr. Walter submits only that Glapthorne did not derive other of his dramas from earlier plays; and that there is no evidence of revision in the play. The value of the first is only negatively inferential; the second would be equally true if one conjectured a thorough rewriting rather than the conventional "revision".

It is, of course, impossible to prove the point one way or the other. The simple facts are contradictory, and one must resort to the game of guessing at the most reasonable probabilities. Indulging in this sport, therefore, may I refer to an article of mine,² which Dr. Walter had perhaps overlooked, where I pointed out the close resemblance between certain features of the plot of *Revenge for Honour* and the play described by the Venetian Ambassador at court on January 10, 1620, N.S. This play was acted by the Prince's men, to whom four years later was licensed *The Parracide* which I linked with *Revenge for Honour*. The delay in licensing for public production

¹ "Revenge for Honour: Date, Authorship and Sources", *R.E.S.*, XIII (1937), 425-37.

² F. T. Bowers, "The Date of *Revenge for Honour*", *M.L.N.*, LII (1937), 192-6.

I conjectured was, due to James's anger at the performance he witnessed; the play was probably altered for the 1624 production, and was later rewritten by Glapthorne.

This guess, which has a certain amount of evidence to support it, may I think be re-affirmed. The stories in Raleigh's (?) *Life of Mahomet* and Knolles's Turkish history furnished Glapthorne with the names for his characters and with little else, for the connection of these as the sources for his plot is tenuous in the extreme. Of more interest is the resemblance of one strand of the plot to episodes in Carlell's *Osmund the Great Turk*. In my article I pointed out that these incidents in *Revenge for Honour* may have formed the essential part of the revision in 1624 to avoid further offending James; and that indications remain in the play that the son was to be falsely betrayed to his father as an attempted usurper (conforming to the Ambassador's description), although his temporary downfall is actually encompassed by the charges of rape. Since this point is of some importance, I should perhaps mention that *Osmund* seems to have been acted first in 1622 (not in 1639, as Dr. Walter, following Allardyce Nicoll, has stated), and that there was difficulty about its licensing.¹

The general evidence of Dr. Walter's article is incontrovertible so far as it concerns Glapthorne. I have been interested merely in making a plea for greater consideration of the identity of explicit titles in 1624 and 1653 as indicating the possibility of rewriting by Glapthorne. That is the essential matter, and my guesses about the possible earlier history of the play should not obscure the main issue.

Yours faithfully,

F. T. BOWERS.

THE EDITOR, *The Review of English Studies*.

DEAR SIR,

May I beg space to make a brief reply to that part of Mr. C. E. Ward's article, "Some Notes on Dryden" (*R.E.S.*, July 1937), in which he takes exception to my interpretation of a letter (Sloane MS. 813, f. 71) important to John Dryden's biography.

¹ W. J. Lawrence, "New Facts from Sir Henry Herbert's Office Book", *T.L.S.*, November 29, 1923, p. 820.

The letter in question was written on August 8, 1663, by Sir Andrew Henley from his Hampshire estate, Bramshill Park, to Sir Robert Howard in London. The letter makes clear that on this date Howard was living at a house in Lincoln's Inn Fields near Turnstile Row, Holborn; that Howard had been leasing this house from Henley for some considerable period; and that Henley had now agreed to sell the house and most of its contents to Howard. Mr. Ward makes no mention of these facts, which are fundamental to any attempt at inference.

Then Henley's letter specifies certain items which, upon said sale, he will retain and transport to Bramshill, among them "the serge Bed M^r Dreidon useth" (*not* "uses it," as Mr. Ward transcribes). Here, of course, lies the bone of contention. Is this reference to John Dryden, the poet? Well, we know from Shadwell's *Medal of John Bayes* that, at least according to popular gossip, John Dryden had been living in London off the bounty of Howard before he became his brother-in-law in December, 1663. We know that in 1663, especially toward the latter half of the year, Howard and Dryden must have been working together over the script of *The Indian Queen*, for it was produced in January 1663/4 at the Theatre Royal. And in 1663 all the evidence is that for the time being Howard was a bachelor. With these three points in mind we come to the reference in Henley's letter, which shows an absent landlord well aware of a "Mr. Dreidon" as the regular occupant of a serge bed (note the letter's present tense "useth") at Howard's house in Lincoln's Inn Fields during the summer of 1663. Is it now a stretching of the truth to infer that the "Mr. Dreidon" is indeed Dryden the poet; that Howard is keeping bachelor quarters in London with his future brother-in-law; and that they both are thus most favourably situated to collaborate on a new "heroic play"?

Mr. Ward, however, would identify the "Mr. Dreidon" of the afore-described Henley letter with a certain Mr. Dryden who was family steward of the Godolphin family for their property near Helston in Cornwall. The only proof which Mr. Ward adduces for this identification is the fact that Sir Andrew Henley in various letters of 1660 mentioned on several occasions a "Mr. Dreidon" or "Mr. Driden," who is clearly the Godolphin steward. But, to turn Mr. Ward's own evidence against him, the excerpt quoted from Sidney Godolphin's letter of December 3, 1663, demonstrates

that Mr. Dryden the steward was still in 1663 living quietly in the Cornish countryside, as he had been in 1660 when Henley had some dealings with him ; and that therefore he has no connection whatsoever with the " Mr. Dreidon " to whom Henley is referring as a well-known resident of Sir Robert Howard's London lodgings in August, 1663.

Faithfully yours,

WILLIAM S. CLARK.

REVIEWS

Scandinavian Archæology. By HAAKON SHETELIG and HJALMAR FALK, translated by E. V. GORDON. Oxford : Clarendon Press. 1937. Pp. xx+458. 21s. net.

THE English public is fortunate indeed ; to be sole recipient, through the medium of Professor Gordon's translation, of the joint work of two distinguished Norwegian scholars is an unusual and, for Scandinavian studies, particularly welcome honour. The title is misleading ; for while the archæologist receives his full meed, workers in other fields will not be sent empty away. The theme is in fact the ancient Norse culture in its widest sense. Professor Shetelig begins with the earliest human habitation in Scandinavia (on the findings of archæology and its most recent auxiliaries, geology and palæobotany) and carries us through to the Viking age and the decorative art consummated in that period. The emphasis is on the historical and social implications of the "finds"—the raw material being chiefly represented by the superb illustrations. Compression is most evident in Chapter XVII, which makes almost painful reading, so severely controlled is the author's capacity to enter into problems of decorative evolution in their full complexity. For the early chapters in particular a map is sorely needed.

Among the varied excellences of this survey, originality of presentation is perhaps chief. It flashes out in many brilliant instants of fusion. Notable examples are : pp. 186, 346-7, the sewed technique of the Hjortspring boat related to the nautical terms *súð*, *sýja* (etymologically connected with Latin *suere*) ; p. 193, hoards establishing the importation of Republican *denarii*, the *denarius* as the unit on which the Old Norse weight-system is based, and the derivation of the weight name *ertog* from (*denarius*) *argenteus*. Of special literary interest are the association of fabulous dragon-hoards with the influx of Roman gold in the fourth to sixth centuries (p. 235), and the basis of social conditions found for the shadowy courts and chivalry which formed the matrix of North Germanic heroic legend (p. 264).

In Professor Falk's contribution, Chapters XXI and XXII are in substance a masterly précis of his *Altnordisches Seewesen* (Heidel-

berg, 1912) and *Altnordische Waffenkunde* (Kristiania, 1914)—works which leave nothing to be said on their particular subjects. Readers of Old Norse and Old English literature will find many points of special interest (*i.e.* *dyrr*, p. 321; *hringedstefna*, p. 358; *knørr*, p. 375; *scenn*, p. 382; *geirr*, *heptisax*, p. 385). The final chapter, on religion, is the most remarkable in the whole book, immeasurably excelling every other treatment of the subject.

Those interested in Germanic philology will turn with especial eagerness to the discussion of runes. They will find exceptionally clear and sane handling of a subject too often obscured by fantasy or wordy controversy. On the literary and archæological sides this account could hardly be bettered. The references in Old Norse literature which associate runes with the cult of Othin acquire new significance when the fact that Othin came as a war-god from the south, superseding an older deity (pp. 414-6), is linked with archæological proof that some of the earliest runes in Scandinavia are inscribed on imported objects of southern workmanship. Thus culture-drifts ascertained by typological arguments, from the Goths in South Russia (as Salin has shown) and along the Elbe from the Marcomanni (in the more recent work of Almgren and Shetelig); the important evidence given by passage of coins (pp. 200-2, 209); and broad general indications of the routes of commerce and migration (pp. 218, 226, 245)—are all brought into play as factors in the linguistic sphere. By experienced handling of these auxiliary studies, runic problems are presented in a very attractive manner. Certain aspects are brought out as never before: the magic significance of runes (pp. 413-4), and their use as a monumental script (pp. 243-6; in particular, the illuminating comparison of the Möjebro picture with a Roman type) may be cited. But the core of the problem, for which the author is more dependent on the work of other investigators, is less surely touched. The force of epigraphic arguments is indeed fully acknowledged. An archæologist may well recoil before the present confusion—largely due to exaggerated deference to archæologists, whose valuable contributions have deflected runologists from their own path; fruitful as was the correlation between the work of Salin and von Friesen, in some ways it has proved inauspicious. We are now accustomed to hearing that the language of the Mos, Kylver, Vimose, and other Norse inscriptions is “Gothic.”¹ The word *erilar* in certain West Norse

¹ Marstrander, *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap*, III, 25-157.

inscriptions has been adduced as evidence of the Heruli and their language¹—an argument still striking distant echoes (see p. 414). Discovery of the Marcomannic language seems imminent; proceeding from the typological affinities of the Stabu spearhead and the Frøihov figure, Marstrander² discovers that it is to be classed as West Germanic (quoted, p. 225). After this, an archæologist can hardly be blamed for believing that *baji*[?n] (Kårstad) must necessarily mean "Bavarian" (p. 221).

The refusal of those engaged in epigraphic and linguistic studies to distinguish between the methods appropriate to their own and archæological work respectively has led to grave distortion in the search for origins. It has become all too easy to confuse the development and diffusion of runes with the development and diffusion of the artefacts on which they are inscribed. Recent investigators have begun to sound a warning: Hammarström³ affirms that the origin of runes must be primarily "ett alfabethistoriskt icke ett konst-historiskt problem," and Arntz⁴ is even more emphatic: "Ein Alphabet verpflanzt sich nicht wie irgendwelche Handelsware oder wird im Triumph heimgebracht." But the main trend has been otherwise, and has influenced scholars in other fields. Von Friesen, whose theory of the origin of runes is outlined on p. 223, is a bitter opponent of Hammarström's attitude.⁵ The chief objections to Von Friesen's theory are not discussed; but it is clear that runes whose occurrence in Scandinavia is dated c. 200 by archæologists cannot be derived from the third-century Gothic kingdom by the Black Sea. More serious is von Friesen's failure to allow for any slow evolution or scholarly tradition in the formation of runes;⁶ and the objection that his Gothic hostages, legionaries, or slaves would have neither capacity nor motive to compose the complex alphabet he postulates applies with equal force to our author's remark (apropos of Agrell's theory) that "it is very likely that the runic letters would be formed by German soldiers in the Roman army, in garrisons or on active service." The main contentions of Marstrander and Hammarström, who seek for a point of contact among the North Italian alphabets, are proof against such defects of

¹ Von Friesen, *Rö-stenen i Bohuslän*, 45-81; *Nordisk Kultur*, vi, Runorna, 15 f.

² *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap*, i, 117-24; see also p. 185.

³ *Studier i nordisk filologi*, xx. i. 2.

⁴ *Handbuch der Runenkunde*, p. 83.

⁵ See *Arkiv*, XLVII, 97.

⁶ See *Runorna*, p. 14.

chronology and method. But they are approved here chiefly on archæological grounds—which also favour the pendant suggestion of a related “original Celtic alphabet” with letter-names going back to “the ancient Gaulish religion.” As oghom is only found in use among the Gaels of the British Isles and there is absolutely no evidence of any ancient Gaulish writing, this theory does not commend itself to philologists.¹ Such embroideries are not essential to the theory of North-Italian origins, which moreover receives support from the discovery of a Germanic inscription in North Italian letters on the Negau helmet;² in a discussion of origins, this helmet deserves mention. Additional points are: the Maria-Saalerberg inscription, treated with great suspicion, is now pronounced a “scherzhafte Fälschung”;³ and some co-ordination seems to be required between the statements on p. 221, that the Kårstad runes (discovered 1929) “are actually the oldest runic inscription on stone that we know of,” and p. 244: “the oldest inscribed stone stands . . . at Einang.”

The most questionable feature in the chapter on runes is, however, the reconstructed futhark. Its basis, the conception of “Urrunen” indicated on p. 215, can hardly stand, except as an abstract formula of the same kind as the philologist’s “Urgermanisch.” The principle that convergence of diverse developments does not prove that one undifferentiated form ever existed, holds good in either case. Since von Friesen’s view of the Gothic origin of runes is implicitly rejected (pp. 224 f.), quotation of his reconstructed Gothic rune-names seems somewhat odd. In the matter of ē (13) and e (19) von Friesen is misrepresented—indeed, no such simple formula could adequately reproduce his ingenious and quite incredible argument to prove that the rune 𐌺 with the value [ē] existed in his hypothetical Gothic futhark beside M with the value [e], their names being respectively *aihtas and *egeis; and that the name of the former is in other Germanic languages transferred to the latter: the premise is that epigraphically 𐌺 derives from a form of Greek ε=[ē], M from a form of Greek η=[ē]!⁴ The situation is

¹ See Arntz (*Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache u. Literatur*, LIX. 321–413), who suggests that oghom was actually derived from runes, and Thurneysen (*ibid.*, LXI. 188–208), who considers the Latin alphabet as an alternative source.

² See Kretschmer, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, LXVI., and Arntz., *Handbuch*, pp. 78 f.

³ H. Hempel, *Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift*, XXIII. 423.

⁴ Incidentally, the rare rune 𐌺 occurs only in Old English and Old Norse inscriptions, and in the Charnay futhark. Nor are we told why Gothic [ē], if it were analysed as a single sound in runes, should be written *ai* in MSS.

not here improved by confusion of von Friesen's **athws* (not *aths*!) as in *aihwatundi*=Gmc. **ehwaz*, O.E. *eoh* with Gmc. **ihwaz*, O.E. *ēow*, *īw*, and interpreting **egeis* as "horse" (von Friesen equates it with O.N. *ægir*, "sea"). Without full comment and qualification, the normalized futhark and still more the reconstructed Gothic names mislead rather than enlighten. It is no longer possible to regard the reconstruction of rune-names from the letter-names attributed to the Gothic alphabet in the Codex Salisburgensis with von Grienberger's confidence. Hence von Friesen's list has no place in a short general account of runes.

It may seem invidious, as it certainly is disproportionate, to sweep a hasty glance towards the eminences of this fine work and turn to crawl lengthily among the molehills of criticism. But here is no attempt to belittle an enterprise which is great and worthily achieved. The reviewer is not competent to weigh up archæological excellences, preferring rather to consider the value of this many-sided book to those who have no special knowledge of archæology, and in particular the student of language. For such, the central point is inevitably the problem of the runes, in which archæological and linguistic studies are found in closest and most vital contact. Granted this particular twist, it is worth while to scrutinize their mutual reactions in some detail; and however one may cavil at separate points, it is evident that a rich harvest awaits the joint labours of archæology and philology for which this book augurs so well.

The following misprints are noted: pp. 216, 223, Runer (for *Runorna*); p. 221, runemindesmerker and the title of the periodical incorrectly given, as again p. 222; the whole reference given correctly p. 218; p. 247, for (Pl. 59) read (Pl. 58); p. 401, stamps for *unpressing*, read *impressing*.

JOAN BLOMFIELD.

Sir Philip Sidney as a Literary Craftsman. By K. O. MYRICK. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: H. Milford. 1935. Pp. x+322. \$3.50; 15s. net.

THIS book justly claims to present a "new synthesis" of the "spirit" of Sidney, particularly as that spirit informs the *Defence of Poesie* and what Mr. Myrick calls the *New Arcadia* (i.e. the incomplete revised version published in 1590). The book is, as it needed

to be, the work of one interested in the complicated intellectual background of the Renaissance on the Continent and in England, and of one whose head could carry easily the almost equally complicated detail of the *New Arcadia* and of the various opinions of Sidney's now numerous interpreters. Mr. Myrick discusses how far Sidney in the *Defence* and the *New Arcadia* was writing according to rules, and at the end of a clearly conducted argument the reader feels that Mr. Myrick has proved his contentions—that the *Defence* is based on the form of a classical oration (it consequently need not represent all that Sidney felt about poetry); that the *New Arcadia* has the substance and structure of an heroic poem according to the precepts of Minturno, except as they are modified in Sidney's *Defence*. Mr. Myrick disproves "the common view of Sidney [which] leaves him an enigma" since he demonstrates that there is no essential discrepancy between the theory of the *Defence* and the practice of the *New Arcadia*. The specialist on Sidney will be bound to give Mr. Myrick's views close attention, and it is doubtful if counter arguments other than those Mr. Myrick has already allowed for will be advanced—he is fortunate in coming at the end of a period of Sidney scholarship and makes full use of his position. The general reader will find his book the best book on Sidney as a literary and courtly figure, partly, but not only, because it is the latest.

Besides the unflagging interest of the general argument the book offers some excellent incidental paragraphs. One instance (pp. 186-7) is Mr. Myrick's analysis of the "action" underlying the decorated description of the shipwreck at the beginning of the *New Arcadia*, a passage shown to be well worth defending against the laughter of Jusserand.

This analysis makes one wish that Mr. Myrick had found space for a closer attention to Sidney's style, especially perhaps to his brilliant use of imagery. But adequate attention to this would need another book.

Mr. Myrick has underestimated the longevity of the *Arcadia*. On p. 82 he says it has given "delight to nearly a century of readers," and on p. 302 its popularity is specified as lasting "seventy-five years." But the following items from the British Museum catalogue show that there was no break of any importance till well into the eighteenth century. The thirteenth edition comes out in 1674, a fourteenth, in 3 volumes octavo, 1725. In the same year, appeared

an edition "modernized by Mrs. Stanley." Between these two dates appeared "The Famous History of Heroick Acts . . . Being an abstract of Pembroke's Arcadia," 1701. And we know that among the books in Leonora's library is a copy of "*Pembroke's Arcadia*" (*Spectator* 37). Dyce considered that Collins had read the book and Johnson, for all his dislike of pastoral, was fond of it, making 121 quotations from it under letters E and F alone in his Dictionary (see W. B. C. Watkins' *Johnson and English Poetry before 1660*, p. 69). When Richardson borrowed Pamela's name, the "theft" was committed in broad daylight.

Mr. Myrick does not require to concern himself very much with the sonnets. They are brought into his book as another proof of Sidney's regard for what Castiglione calls *sprezzatura*, nonchalant courtly grace. He is inclined to think them courtly, neatly turned, complimentary, playful, ironic, clever, before everything else. All this they of course are. But to leave it at that is surely to neglect their marriage of intellect and passion, of brain and blood, or what Lamb discerned as their "transcendent passion pervading and illuminating action, pursuits, studies, feats of arms, the opinions of contemporaries and his judgment of them." This quality is their real greatness and historically gives them an interesting intermediary position between the poems of Wyatt and Donne.

GEOFFREY TILLOTSON.

The Meaning of Hamlet. By LEVIN L. SCHÜCKING. Translated from the German by GRAHAM RAWSON. London: Oxford University Press. 1937. Pp. xii+195. 6s. net.

PROFESSOR SCHÜCKING's scholarly contributions to the study of Shakespeare are already widely known to English students; but Mr. Rawson has done a useful task, and done it well, in making this revised version of Professor Schücking's *Der Sinn des Hamlet* available to a wider public here.

Professor Schücking is not among those who regard *Hamlet* as an artistic failure, for he finds that "in it nobility of character is made really convincing." And he continues (p. 37):

The power to present it demands an unerring sense of what is highest in man's nature, an appreciation of such qualities as indomitable courage, self-sacrificing love, justice, and magnanimity, with, above all, a respect for human dignity—all of which must have been attributes of his own spirit.

The critical problem, therefore, for Professor Schücking is to show, by an analysis of the play, how Shakespeare, through his treatment of the Hamlet story, brings home to us that sense of nobility and sublimity in which Professor Schücking finds the true secret of Shakespeare's art.

In his task Professor Schücking relies for guidance on his study of (i) the technique of the contemporary Elizabethan drama, (ii) the intellectual tendencies of the age; and he endeavours to avoid as far as possible mere *a priori* considerations. But these he cannot entirely dispense with.

Shakespeare's play does not conform to "the 'classic' æsthetic principles of simplicity, symmetry, and 'harmony of parts'" (p. 1). But Professor Schücking goes from this to the conclusion (p. 64) that "the play's exceptional qualities rest on anything but consistency and method. . . . In fact, it can hardly be maintained that the parts are in any way carefully related to the whole." The assumption concealed here can be shown in all its nakedness if we put the argument into concrete terms. The Cathedral of Amiens does not conform to the "classic" principles derived from Vitruvius. Its parts seemed to "classic" critics in no way related to the whole. But now that the principles governing its structure are understood, critics agree to regard it as "The Parthenon of Gothic." Those, therefore, who regard *Hamlet* as a unified work of art must look on Professor Schücking as one who brings to the problem a dangerous and misleading prepossession.

Nor can historical considerations by themselves elucidate what are to the discursive intelligence the darker parts of the action. Professor Schücking would explain Hamlet's forbearance in the Prayer-scene (III. iii) as Hamlet himself does in the speech beginning, "Now might I do it pat." Taken literally, these words, as Professor Schücking agrees (p. 29), "show just that cruelty in him to which Dr. Johnson objected. But," Professor Schücking continues, "in reality this is nothing more than a typically baroque exaggeration of the lust for revenge, or 'passion,' that is to be found in his contemporaries in even more grotesque forms." But what has now become of the "really convincing" presentation of "nobility of character"? Professor Schücking's very interesting chapter on the "Baroque" element in *Hamlet*, the comparison of Hamlet with the skull to Zubaran's Franciscan with a skull in the National Gallery, cannot explain away the difficulty.

Nor does Professor Schücking always drive home his historical inquiries when they are pertinent. Commenting (p. 21) on Hamlet's "there's a special providence in the fall of a sparrow," Professor Schücking, though he knows Shakespeare is echoing the New Testament, wonders whether Shakespeare had come on the idea of fore-ordination in Marcus Aurelius. But what place have such speculations, and his emphasis on the influence of Montaigne, till he has first considered the influence of the work Shakespeare knew best? Any discussion on historical lines that omits the influence of the Bible on Elizabethan thought, culture, and intellectual tendencies, is like a consideration of *Hamlet* that omits the prince. "Shakespeare has," as Raleigh said, "what Montaigne shows no trace of, a capacity for tragic thought." But the Bible is permeated with it, and Shakespeare gives to his hero at the end this beautiful echo from the New Testament not to characterize, as Professor Schücking argues, "the methods of thought of a melancholic," but to mark Hamlet as sane and courageous, and in sympathy with the best feelings of our nature.

No one, however, with the knowledge and enthusiasm of Professor Schücking can write on Hamlet without striking through somewhere to the real nature of the hero; and Professor Schücking comes on it at the very moment when he asks whether the Prince lacks "that 'readiness to forbear' which Thomas Mann considers an essential characteristic of humanity."

P. ALEXANDER.

The Phœnix and Turtle. By WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, JOHN MARSTON, GEORGE CHAPMAN, BEN JONSON, and OTHERS. Edited by BERNARD H. NEWDIGATE. (The Shakespeare Head Quartos VII.) Oxford, published for the Shakespeare Head Press by Basil Blackwell. 1937. Pp. xxiv+31. 2s. 6d. net.

Songs and Lyrics by Ben Jonson. (The Shakespeare Head Quartos VIII.) Oxford, published for the Shakespeare Head Press by Basil Blackwell. 1937. Pp. vi+32. 2s. 6d. net.

To Robert Chester's allegorical poem *Loves Martyr: or, Rosalins Complaint, Allegorically shadowing the truth of Love, in the Constant Fate of the Phœnix and Turtle* (1601) was appended, with a separate title-page, a small collection of *Poeticall Essaies on the former Subject; viz. the Turtle and Phœnix. Done by the best and chiefest of our*

moderne writers. These thirteen poems, of which four are by Jonson, two by "Ignoto," two by Shakespeare, four by Marston, and one by Chapman, are here reprinted, with a valuable Introduction and some very useful notes.

The identity of the two persons allegorically referred to as the Phœnix and the Turtle had remained a matter of pure conjecture until Mr. Newdigate discovered, in an early seventeenth-century commonplace-book—Rawlinson poet. 31—in the Bodleian library, a copy of one of the Phœnix and Turtle poems, Jonson's *Ode ἐνθουσιαστικῇ*, with the heading "T O : L : C : O f : B :". Mr. Newdigate admits that this description does not in itself justify us in identifying Lucy, Countess of Bedford, with the Phœnix, since seventeenth-century commonplace-books are notoriously unreliable in their statements about the authors and subjects of poems, but he thinks the case is strengthened by the fact that the verses to the Countess which Jonson inserted in a copy of *Cynthias Revells* prove that he was on terms of friendship with her as early as 1601. He also makes the plausible suggestion that the fact that the marriage of the Countess and her husband, which took place in 1594, was still (as it was to remain) a childless one is alluded to in the following cryptic lines of Shakespeare's *Threnos* :

Leaving no posteritie,
Twas not their infirmities,
It was married Chastities.

It is difficult, however, to conceive how this poem as a whole, which Marston, in the poem which follows it, refers to as a "moving *Epicidium*," could have been written upon a married couple who were still living: if it was, it is itself a phœnix, the only example in literature of an anticipatory epitaph. There remains another problem, which Mr. Newdigate has not dealt with: why, at the conclusion of his *Epos*, does Jonson find it necessary to exhort the Turtle not to show himself unworthy of the Phœnix?—

O, so divine a Creature
Who could be false to ? chiefly when he knows
How onely she bestowes
The wealthy treasure of her Love in [Fī 'on'] him ;
Making his Fortunes swim
In the full floud of her admir'd perfection ?
What savage, brute Affection,
Would not be fearefull to offend a Dame
Of this excelling frame ?

Much more a noble and right generous Mind,
 (To vertuous moodes enclin'd)
 That knowes the weight of *Guilt*: He will refraine
 From thoughts of such a straine:
 And to his *Sence* object this Sentence ever,
 "Man may securely sinne, but safely never."

It would, perhaps, be worth while to investigate closely the relations between the Countess of Bedford and her husband, and, in particular, to try to discover whether the Earl had ever attempted, or had ever been persuaded, to obtain a divorce or an annulment of his marriage.

The first of the two short poems signed "Ignoto" begins:

The silver Vault of heaven, hath but one Eie,
 And that's the Sunne . . .

In his note, Mr. Newdigate observes: "Donne uses this Metaphor of the sun in *Metempsychosis*, First Song, II: 'Thee, eye of heaven, this great Soule envies not.' *Metempsychosis* is dated 16 August 1601, in which year *Loves Martyr* was printed. It is possible that Ignoto's lines were written by Donne." The Metaphor, however, is far too common to be used as evidence for ascription:

Her angels face,
 As the great eye of heaven, shyned bright
 (Spenser, *F.Q.*, I. iii, 4.)

Sometime too hot the eye of heaven shines
 (Shakespeare, Sonnet 18)

In conclusion, it may be remarked that this book invites one to consider once again, perhaps more carefully than before, Shakespeare's extraordinary poem "Let the bird of lowdest lay," and to reflect how *very* extraordinary it is, how unlike anything else he ever wrote. In this one essay in the metaphysical style he almost beats Donne on his own ground. Mr. Newdigate has supplied some illuminating notes, but much still remains to be elucidated. The present writer, at any rate, is not afraid to confess that the exact meaning of the third stanza from the end is by no means clear to him.

The text of the little collection of Ben Jonson's songs and lyrics is taken from Mr. Newdigate's complete edition of the poems, published two years ago. It is admirably chosen, and, like all the other volumes in this series, beautifully printed and produced.

J. B. LEISHMAN.

Ben Jonson. Ed. C. H. HERFORD and P. and EVELYN SIMPSON.
Vol. VI. Oxford, At the Clarendon Press. 1938. 8vo.
Pp. xii+597. 21s. net.

ON the title-page of this volume, to the names of C. H. Herford and Percy Simpson is added that of Mrs. Evelyn Simpson, who has for some time been assisting her husband in his great work.

The frontispiece is a considerably reduced reproduction of the medallion portrait of Jonson from the fine engraving by Elder prefixed to the folio of 1692. The list of illustrations contains a minute description of the plate, which, however, fails to mention the size, $11\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ inches. It bears an imprint: "Sold at the George near St. Dunstons Church in Fleet Street." Mr. Simpson infers, no doubt correctly, that the engraving was obtainable separately: it may be added that the address is that of Thomas Bassett, one of the six publishers of the folio.

The plays included in this volume are five: *Bartholomew Fair*, *The Devil is an Ass*, *The Staple of News*, *The New Inn*, and *The Magnetic Lady*. For the first time since the early plays included in vol. III, the authoritative folio of 1616 fails us, and the quality of the texts naturally deteriorates. Except for *The New Inn*, the octavo of which Jonson appears to have seen through the press in 1631 with something of his old vigilance, the texts are all rather unsatisfactory in detail. *The Magnetic Lady* first appeared in the "third volume" of 1641, and of course escaped the author's revision. The other three plays constitute the "second volume" printed in 1631, to which a general title was added in 1640. That Jonson read the proofs seems clear from his correspondence with Newcastle, and the editors appear to accept it as a fact, though the internal evidence they have discovered is not extensive. Jonson was, of course, ill at the time after his palsy of 1628, and he complained bitterly of the printer. The editors echo his querulous complaints; perhaps with more loyalty to Ben than fairness to Beale. No doubt there are many and bad misprints in the text, but they seem hardly more glaring or numerous than are usually to be found in works the proofs of which have not been adequately revised by the author. Stansby was probably a better printer than Beale, but I doubt whether, if we had the proofs that the former sent to Jonson, we should find them so much superior to the sheets of 1631 after allowing for some author's corrections in the latter. Jonson was nearing

sixty, and infirmity would not sit lightly on one whose temper was never of the best. It was fifteen years since he had seen anything more substantial than a masque through the press. I cannot think that it is any more critical to abuse Beale on Jonson's word than it would be to abuse Jaggard on Brooke's.

The editors report the text of *The New Inn* to be creditable and to show signs of careful revision: "This is the last play of which Jonson read the proofs." I do not know on what grounds they assume that it was printed later than the plays of the "second volume." Since it was registered on 17 April one would suppose that it was printed in the spring: Jonson's letter complaining of Beale is not dated. The inner formes of sheets B and C contain numerous variants, showing that corrections were made in the course of printing. Some of these, it would seem, must emanate from Jonson; and perhaps justify the editors in assuming that they are all author's corrections from belated proofs. Many, however, seem to be no more than routine corrections, such as any press reader might make, perhaps with the help of the copy. It does not always do to assume that because a text was corrected as it went through the press, the corrections are therefore the author's. The first edition of *King Lear* contains nearly 150 "corrections," but no one supposes that they originated anywhere but in the printing house. Anyhow, to call the correction of this play "an amazing achievement for a paralysed author" seems rather exaggerated. Jonson's brain was not affected, and we know from the note to Cotton written during his illness that his hand was as firm as ever. What the corrections do seem to show is that Jonson could perfectly well have corrected Beale's proofs had he not lost his temper: unless, of course, we assume that the printing of *The New Inn* preceded that of the other three plays, and that Jonson's health deteriorated rapidly during the year. But perhaps the real trouble was that Beale did not pay sufficient attention to Jonson's directions and was impatient of his meticulous and probably dilatory habits.

A few incidental points only call for remark in the introduction to *The Devil is an Ass*. In the absence of any entrance of the copy I do not know what meaning to attach to the statement that "Allot had the copyright" (p. 145). From Hansley's licence of 6 June 1640—"Let this be entered for Andrew Crooke but not printed till I give further directions"—it is certainly evident that he read the play "twenty-four years after it had been acted and nine years after

it had been printed", but not that he did so "under the impression it was new" (p. 146). It was only in 1640 that the question of publication arose, and Crooke then sought a licence. Nor is it to me at all evident that Hansley "had some doubt about Crooke's right to the play." He directed that it should be entered to Crooke, but that printing should be stayed. That is quite consistent with the view that he accepted the copy as being Crooke's property, but that either he was doubtful as to the propriety of publication, or possibly that Crooke wished the publication to be stayed. After all it was Meighen who was preparing to publish plays which Crooke regarded as his. The 1669 title-page, preserved at Welbeck Abbey, was certainly not printed by Henry Herringman (p. 148): he was not a printer. It may have been printed for him.

W. W. GREG.

Death and Elizabethan Tragedy. A Study of Convention and Opinion in the Elizabethan Drama. By THEODORE SPENCER. Cambridge: Mass.; Harvard University Press; London: H. Milford. 1936. Pp. xiv+288. \$2.50; 10s. 6d. net.

MR. SPENCER'S book is not, as its title might suggest, "just another" dissertation on a made-up subject. It is in the main an almost anthropological survey, with the literary data grouped so as to expose the often unconscious assumptions which underlie them; a useful kind of criticism, and here never degenerating into mere collection and description. The writer begins with a lucid account of the mediæval attitude to death and the subsequent "sixteenth-century conflict," with Petrarch's *Secretum* as the turning-point—"the first document in the history of the modern mind." He wisely approaches the Elizabethan drama through its language, and in studying the epithets and images used for death throws new light on their conventional basis, though sometimes perhaps underestimating the non-conventional element. Here he reaches the conclusions that "the more rooted in convention [the poet] is, the more *imaginative* his writing will be" and that "the proper use of conventional images in poetry is similar to the proper use of a metrical pattern."

The rest of the book, though always stimulating, is somewhat disappointing in its exclusions. The discussion of "Ideas"

especially suffers from gaps both in material and treatment. Here one expects (and the previous account of the "medieval background" justifies the expectation) that the dramatists' attitude to death will be related not merely to some vaguely "Renaissance" beliefs but to their own immediate surroundings. The sudden death of thirty thousand Londoners (one-eighth of the city's population) in the Plague of 1603 is surely relevant here; but the Plague is not so much as mentioned by Mr. Spencer. Nor does he explore, though he refers to it in passing, the effect of the long expectation of the Queen's death; and when he wishes to shift some of the responsibility for the dramatic fashion of "dying well" from Seneca to contemporary life, he can only suggest Raleigh's death (in 1618) as a parallel. One topic only, that of suicide, is discussed in relation to current Elizabethan beliefs; the wider subject of post-mortem rewards and punishments in general (including ghosts) is treated solely in its literary manifestations. The chapter on "Technique" also belies expectations. Except for a brief account of the use of funeral dumb-shows, black clothes, and skulls (but without mention of the common practice of hanging the stage with black for tragedies), it is concerned not with the plays in the theatre, but with atmosphere and character. The examination of Fletcher's *Bonduca* is an illuminating study of the conventions in their decadence: but it would have been more effectively included in the final chapter, which is a chronological account of individual dramatists too short to be satisfying.

Mr. Spencer hopes that the quotations and examples which he has omitted "will only serve to illustrate the points . . . already made." Two suggest themselves as falling outside this category; the disgust shown by old Carter in *The Witch of Edmonton* (III. iv) when he shrinks from his beloved daughter's corpse:

I will not own her now; she's none of mine.
Bob me off with a dumb-show! no, I'll have life;

and the convention, common in the "love and honour" plays of Fletcher and Massinger and referred to in *Every Man in his Humour*, that a person of low rank does not deserve the dignity of death. Webster is unfairly treated on p. 95, where the curtailment of the quotation suppresses the original twist which he gave to the Senecan "mille . . . aditus." Atropos (p. 120, n.) is mentioned in English poetry before Lydgate, in Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*, IV, 1208,

1546. The Folio reading "dung" should be preferred to Theobald's "dug" in the passage from *Antony and Cleopatra* quoted on p. 85.

KATHLEEN TILLOTSON.

Hymns Attributed to John Dryden. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by G. R. NOYES and G. R. POTTER. Berkeley: University of California Press; London: Cambridge University Press. 1937. Pp. x+222. Cloth 11s. 6d. net; paper 9s. net.

THIRTY years ago Professor Noyes edited the best and most complete edition of Dryden's poems in one volume that has so far appeared. He has also published a very useful volume containing a selection of Dryden's plays and he has contributed occasional articles on the poet to journals devoted to English research. But his work in another academic field has, for some years, prevented him from making substantial contributions to the study of Dryden till, with Professor Potter, he set about seriously investigating the question of whether or not Dryden was the translator of all or most of the hymns printed in a *Primer* of 1706, a book intended for the use of English Roman Catholics. For fifty years this question has teased students of Dryden, but it can now be considered as definitely settled by the masterly arguments brought forward by Professor Noyes and his collaborator. In their volume they reprint the 112 hymns in the *Primer*. When they began their enquiry they were impressed by the evidence in favour of Dryden's authorship and they hoped to be able to add to it. As they proceeded they found the existing evidence less and less convincing and they eventually came to the conclusion that it was exceedingly weak. On the other hand the case against Dryden having written any of the hymns except *Veni Creator Spiritus* is, I think, as they state it, complete.

Veni Creator Spiritus was first published under Dryden's own name in *Examen Poeticum*, 1693, and the fact that this hymn was reprinted in the *Primer* is really the only link between Dryden and the volume. Another hymn may be safely ascribed to Roscommon, but the remaining 110 hymns have not been attributed to any translator on satisfactory grounds, though Scott, in his edition of Dryden's *Works*, 1808, printed two of them from another and a clearly unreliable source. When in 1883 Orby Shipley discovered in the *Primer* these two hymns and *Veni Creator Spiritus*, as well as several

others, assigned to Dryden by vague Roman Catholic tradition, the belief that he was the writer of the bulk of the hymns in the book seemed, on the face of it, reasonable enough.

As the authors point out in their long introduction preceding the text of the hymns, Dryden, though without doubt a genuine convert to Catholicism, is far from being a religious poet in any real sense of the words, and it is inherently unlikely that he should have translated more than two thousand lines of religious verse. Moreover, he could scarcely have done the work without someone among his contemporaries being aware of it, and the hymns were not claimed as his, so far as is known, either by his Catholic sons or by anybody else. Professors Noyes and Potter discuss the opinions of Saintsbury, Van Doran, and others, who have been inclined to accept Dryden's authorship, in part at least, and they show how very little basis there is for what they call these critics' intuitions. Finally they give a number of examples from the hymns to show that their apparent resemblances to Dryden's known work really tell against his having written them. On the other hand the verse frequently conflicts with Dryden's style and usage. Several of the hymns are of high quality and they were no doubt written, as was almost inevitable at the time, by an author or authors under the domination of the great poet.

HUGH MACDONALD.

The Works of John Milton. Columbia University edition under the general editorship of F. A. PATTERSON. Vols. XI-XVII. New York: Columbia University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 18 vols. £24 net.

Vol. XI, 1935. Pp. xiv+538. *Artis Logicae Plenior Institutio, ad Petri Rami Methodum concinnata.* Edited and translated by A. H. GILBERT.

Vol. XII, 1936 (New York), 1937 (London). Pp. xii+415. *The Familiar Letters of John Milton*, edited by D. LEMEN CLARK, with the translation of DAVID MASSON, pp. 1-116; *The Prolusions of John Milton*, edited by D. LEMEN CLARK, with a translation by BROMLEY SMITH, pp. 117-286; *An Early Prolusion by John Milton and Miscellaneous Correspondence in Foreign Tongues*, edited and translated by T. OLLIVE MABBOTT and NELSON GLENN MCCREA, pp. 287-319; *English Corre-*

spondence by John Milton, collected and edited by THOMAS OLLIVE MABBOTT, pp. 320-36; *Correspondence of Milton and Mylius*, 1651-1652, collected, edited, and translated by THOMAS OLLIVE MABBOTT and NELSON GLENN MCCREA, pp. 337-80; Notes, pp. 381-415.

Vol. XIII, 1937. Pp. xiv+646. *The State Papers of John Milton*, collected and edited by THOMAS OLLIVE MABBOTT and J. MILTON FRENCH; *Literæ Pseudo-Senatus Anglicani*, 1676, with the translation of EDWARD PHILLIPS, 1694, pp. 2-130 (in the name of the Parliament), pp. 138-399 (in the name of Oliver Cromwell), pp. 400-27 (in the name of Richard Cromwell), pp. 428-33 in the name of the restored Rump; *Additional Material with Translations by Several Hands: Letters from the Skinner Manuscript* (pp. 434-65); *Additional State Papers* (pp. 466-592); Notes (pp. 593-646).

Vol. XIV, 1933. Pp. viii+403. *De Doctrina Christiana*, edited with the translation of CHARLES R. SUMNER by J. JOLLY HANFORD, and W. HILARY DUNN (Bk. I, Ch. 1-6).

Vol. XV, 1933. Pp. viii+409. *De Doctrina Christiana* (Bk. I, Ch. 7-20).

Vol. XVI, 1934. Pp. viii+381. *De Doctrina Christiana* (Bk. I, Ch. 21-33).

Vol. XVII, 1934. Pp. viii+587. *De Doctrina Christiana* (Bk. II, with notes on the text and translation).

THE magnificently presented edition of Milton's complete works by the Columbia University Press (sold in this country by the Oxford University Press) is nearing completion. Only one volume, XVIII, is now still to be published.

The editors are to be congratulated on giving us, with the text of the *De Doctrina Christiana*, Sumner's translation, which no new translation could possibly have replaced, and perhaps even more in adding to the fourth volume of this work the notes originally put to the text, on its first publication, by Sumner. Both Sumner's translation of a very difficult text and his notes on sometimes very obscure points are invaluable, and it is one of the major advantages of the Columbia edition that we have now, brought together, the Latin text, the translation, and the notes. For purposes of meditation, I personally would have preferred the notes not at the end

of the volume but at the bottom of the corresponding pages. This would, of course, have spoilt the æsthetic appeal of the volumes as now printed, and the editor's decision, however severe, has been justified.

The *De Doctrina* (*Christiana* ought possibly to be suppressed, as, in fact, Milton goes very near the uttermost fringe of what may still be called Christianity) is one of the most important works in the history of English thought. That such a work should have been written by such a man, in a period when the Cambridge Platonists on the one hand and Hobbes on the other were flourishing, is one of the facts that throw most light not only on the seventeenth century but on the English mind generally, indeed perhaps on the European mind. Philosophically we cannot, of course, now take the *De Doctrina* seriously, any more than we can take seriously any of the seventeenth-century philosophies, except in essential fragments. But as an effort to think out the world on rational lines and to burst all the bonds of orthodoxy while retaining some fundamental moral relationship to Christianity, Milton's performance is of the highest value. Rather than depth or power of thought, it shows character expressed in abstract thought in a way which is, I believe, deeply illuminating of English character and English thinking generally. I mean that Milton's intellectual mood is still to-day one of the prevailing moods in English thought. His ideas may be forgotten or accounted of little worth (though this is far from being my opinion), but his approach to philosophical problems through their moral aspects is still the typical English way, and English minds, or minds trained in the English tradition, still have much to gain in both strength and acumen in reading the *De Doctrina* very carefully. Also all non-English thinkers that would know the English would do well to study it.

The Columbia edition gives us a full opportunity for such a study, and these four volumes seem to me the central and essential feature of this edition.

Nothing of the sort can be said of Vol. XI, the *Art of Logic*, which few people will read. This is one of Milton's amusements, like the Latin Grammar, or perhaps one of his professional exercises as a tentative schoolmaster: Bossuet wrote several of his books for his royal pupil; why should not Milton have done likewise? We could easily spare both performances nowadays. Yet it is amusing to have the volume on the shelf.

Volumes XII and XIII contain the correspondence, the Prolusions, and the State Papers ; of relatively little importance in themselves to the Miltonist proper, these documents are precious to the historian and also as all too scanty sources of information about Milton. They seem to have been put together with all due care, and the editors (Vol. XII *in fine*) appeal a little pathetically for lost or unknown fragments of Milton's correspondence, and also for " better readings (if these be found) " for unsatisfactorily deciphered sentences.

DENIS SAURAT.

Cavalier Drama : An Historical and Critical Supplement to the Study of the Elizabethan and Restoration Stage. By

ALFRED HARBAGE. New York : Modern Language Association of America, 1936 ; London : Oxford University Press, 1937. Pp. x+302. 11s. 6d. net.

THE general purpose of this book is "to discuss the trends in English drama during the Caroline and Commonwealth periods, and the first few years of the Restoration, with a view to illustrating the continuity of an English literary tradition." By cavalier drama Mr. Harbage means those plays written by the " fashionable gentry active in the Caroline Court and on the Royal side in the Civil Wars " ; and it is the central thesis of the work that these Court poets initiated and developed a type of drama that culminated in the heroic plays of John Dryden.

A most unusual feature is the division of the book into two parts, " with a view to the convenience of two different classes of readers." In the first part are brought together " such conclusions concerning trends as may be of fairly general interest " ; the second part contains a detailed description of the materials on which these conclusions are based. The discussion of the conclusions in Part I, which occupies about one-third of the book, involves a considerable amount of description. It includes an outline of the development of Court drama, an analysis of the cavalier plays, and a comparison between these and the later heroic plays. The survey in Part II, consists of seven chapters describing plays and circumstances of their production. The classification is partly according to groups of dramatists : " Courtier Playwrights," " Amateurs of Town and University," " Professional Playwrights," and " The Last of the Cavalier Playwrights " ; in addition, there are chapters on special

themes: "Plays on the Civil War," "Closet Drama," and "Private Theatricals." A brief concluding chapter is followed by a List of Plays, including those in MS., written or produced between 1626 and 1659, with dates of composition and of performance. Explanatory notes and references are given at the end of each chapter, and a full index completes the work.

The method adopted has resulted in a certain amount of overlapping, and the reader has frequently to make his own cross-references. An outstanding example of the weakness of the method appears in the treatment of Walter Montague's *Shepherd's Paradise*. Whilst fully aware of the negligible literary value of this play, Mr. Harbage describes it as "epoch-making in its type as well as in the circumstances of its production." These circumstances are described at length in Part I, with illustrations of character and dialogue; while in Part II the plot is summarized for us, with further quotations and comments. There is no obvious reason why the two parts of the account should attract different classes of readers.

The special importance attached by Mr. Harbage to Montague's play—there are more than twenty page-references in the index—is due to the circumstance that it was the first play in which a queen of England took a leading part, thereby setting a fashion in the type of play it exemplified. A full account is given of Henrietta's influence on the theatre, stressing her previous experience in France, her attempts to introduce a freer atmosphere into the English Court, the sensation caused by Prynne's outburst and the consequent stimulus to patriotic writers to imitate Montague. The cavalier drama thus brought into being is defined as "a schematic dramatization of the action of Greek romance, peopled by Platonics who deliver themselves of undramatic essays, written in florid cadenced prose, feministic in tendency, grave and refined in tone." There is no hint here of those epic qualities that characterize heroic drama, though elsewhere in the book it is emphasized that such qualities are all to be found in cavalier drama.

In arguing that heroic drama is the lineal descendant of cavalier drama, the author shows a certain inconsistency and a tendency to slight the views of other scholars. In particular, he deprecates recent attempts to "pick the pioneer heroic play" from among those written in the early years of the Restoration. The difference of opinion turns on a question of emphasis and definition. Whereas Mr. Harbage considers that the later French influence was insignifi-

cant, others regard it as the determining factor in the emergence of the heroic drama as a separate species. Thus Mr. W. S. Clark has given good reasons for regarding Orrery's *The Generall* as the first example of the type.¹ He accepts the contemporary Restoration view that the new mode in tragedy, especially in the technique of rhymed verse, was due, mainly though not entirely, to emulation of the French. His definition runs as follows: "a wholly serious play, composed in rimed verse, with a tone befitting heroic poetry, and concerned with the lofty sentiments of persons in high station."² Now Mr. Harbage accepts this definition, yet at the same time he hedges on the crucial question of rhyme. Pointing to sporadic examples of rhymed dialogue in plays written before 1660, he surmises that "The *Conquest of Granada* would probably have appeared in its present form had Orrery not written at all," an observation plainly irrelevant to the question whether Orrery did in fact write the first heroic play.

Whilst Mr. Harbage will draw no line between cavalier and heroic drama, he carefully distinguishes the former from Elizabethan plays of the Marlowe type and from the Fletcherian plays. The chief difference lies in the new emphasis on the artificial code of love and honour which led to a peculiar conception of heroic virtue. As examples he compares Fletcher's *Love's Pilgrimage*, a drama of high adventure and love without "platonic refinements," and Carlell's *Passionate Lovers*, which he describes as "a dramatic exposition of ardors and elegant behaviour." Preciosity in the treatment of love survived after the Restoration only in the work of Orrery; what did not only survive but grow from strength to strength was the ideal of heroic virtue expressed through characters who speak and act conventionally as patterns of propriety fulfilling the obligations of an ethical code.

As examples of dramatic art the cavalier plays are weak in construction, in characterization, in dialogue, even in poetry. Yet in spite of false taste and poor technique, Mr. Harbage considers the work of Montague, Carlell, and Killigrew less decadent than that of Fletcher, Ford, and Brome: "Decadent authors are over-ripe, Cavalier playwrights had scarcely arrived at green." Judging by ethical rather than by æsthetic standards he speaks of their "astonishingly innocent" character; in fact "these plays were one of the

¹ Cf. *R.E.S.*, II. (1926), 206-11.

² Cf. *R.E.S.*, VIII. (1932), 444.

most wholesome interests at the court of King Charles, and like preciousité itself, they helped to civilize our ancestors." There is something of irony in the sequel. As he observes, the cavaliers at least believed in the gallantries of romance and were capable of practising them; but the greater art of the Restoration dramatists expressed a moral code no longer related to life.

Mr. Harbage has written an interesting book which, though containing a great deal that may be found elsewhere, conveniently brings together much valuable material and interprets it in a fresh light. The style is easy and the tedium of the inevitable mass of descriptive details is relieved on occasion by the author's sense of humour. There are few misprints and errors: page 25, note 12, "Tethy's" (for "Tethys"); page 66, "stychamythia"; page 77, "*ad nauseum*"; page 89, note 14, the reference to page 317 in Langbaine should be to page 386; page 111, "consanquinity"; pages 251-52, the last two sentences of the paragraph are jumbled; page 258, "distance" apparently for "distinction."

D. M. WALMSLEY.

Der typisch puritanische Ideengehalt in Bunyan's "Life and Death of Mr. Badman" (Inauguraldissertation, Universität Leipzig). Von WOLFGANG SACHS. Zwönitz i. Erzgebirge: C. Bernard Ott. 1936. Pp. 95.

THIS able thesis by a new writer, a young Leipzig doctor in Economics, is an indication of John Bunyan's ever-growing literary importance. For two centuries and a half, it may be safely said, Bunyan was known to the world as the author of his one great book, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, and nothing else. Froude's brilliant study in the "English Men of Letters" series (1880) first showed the general reader how, besides the *Pilgrim* and two minor masterpieces, *Grace Abounding* and *The Holy War*, the Bedford tinker had been a prolific writer. Everything he wrote, indeed, centred on his one theme. In Froude's words, "He had himself no value for literature. He cared simply for spiritual truth, and literature in his eyes was only useful as a means of teaching it." But when the writer was a genius, and at the same time such a live and racy human being, everything he wrote was full of life and became part of the picture of the England he lived in. *The Life and Death of Mr. Badman* is one of the raciest bits of all. It was published in 1680, just two years after the *Pilgrim's Progress*, to which it was undoubtedly sent

out as a pendant. One of Froude's best chapters is almost entirely given to an outline of this picturesque "life of a scoundrel." In recent years the little book has been well edited, both by the late Dr. John Brown, author of the classic *Life of Bunyan*, for the Cambridge Press, and, with an introduction by Mr. Dobrée, for the Oxford *World's Classics*.

It is on this book, with its Defoe-like realism and directness, that Dr. Wolfgang Sachs bases his study of Puritan ethics and economics. His bibliography shows wide reading in Puritan literature, especially in "conduct books"—a class by themselves at that period. Such writings were William Ames's *De Conscientia* (1630), William Gouge's *Domesticall Duties* (1622), and Richard Baxter's *Christian Directory* (1675). Over such treatises, pragmatic and dreary, a lively narrative like Mr. Badman, full of incidents and splendid stories, had an immense advantage. Their general outlook is of course the same and Bunyan can be grim enough, but his big humanity and his humour generally keep him from going to extremes.

On the first main head of his inquiry—the Puritan view of marriage and home life—Dr. Sachs naturally quotes a good deal from *Paradise Lost*. It may be doubted, however, whether the greatest of the Puritans in his extreme views here carried his whole school along with him. Certainly Bunyan, though doubtless accepting woman's "subjection," would not have followed Milton either in theory or practice. On such matters as the seventeenth-century view of master and servant, the ethics of business, the fair price and the fair wage, and, finally, capitalism, Dr. Sachs's careful summary and comments will be found interesting. On the last of these, where some recent writers have professed to find the roots of capitalism in seventeenth-century Puritanism, our young author protests. It is just as easy to find the roots of the contrary view. "We have specially indicated", he says in his closing summary (p. 82), "how in *The Life and Death of Mr. Badman* the same anti-capitalistic spirit reveals itself, as in the works of other representatives of the Puritan movement." Certainly, Bunyan fulminates as strongly as any Labour Member against "men of trade who, when they have the advantage, will make a prey of their neighbour." As for the swindler, or the fraudulent bankrupt—which was one of Badman's characters—"such a man is the pest and vermin of the Commonwealth; he is not fit for the society of men!"

DUNCAN C. MACGREGOR.

Daily Meditations. By PHILIP PAIN. Reproduced from the original edition of 1668 in the Huntington Library: with an Introduction by LEON HOWARD. San Marino: Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery. 1936. Pp. 36. 75 cents.

PROFESSOR LEON HOWARD, in his brief and lucid introduction to this facsimile edition of Philip Pain's *Daily Meditations*, does not go so far as to claim—as Wegelin does in his *Early American Poetry*—that it is “the earliest known specimen of original American verse printed in the English Colonies.” He admits that there is no conclusive proof that the meditations are original American verse. But if they are—and it is likely that they are—they form a volume of exceptional literary interest, for they contrast pleasantly with the usual “stiff, pedantic and formal” type of poetry printed in New England. It is pleasant indeed to find in New England a not wholly unworthy disciple of George Herbert and Donne and Quarles.

The little volume consists of sixty-four meditations in verse and sixteen couplets, written in 1666, together with an introductory poem, *The Porch*, and a verse *Postscript to the Reader*, signed “J.T.” The text is a reproduction of the unique copy of the 1668, the first, edition. (There was a second edition in 1670, the only known copy of which is in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society.) Until 1923 the volume was numbered among the “lost books” issued in 1668 by Marmaduke Johnson from his Cambridge Press. The book has been found, but the author, Philip Pain, despite the diligent research of Professor Howard, must be accounted a “lost” author, for nothing is known about him except that he was a young man in 1666 and that he suffered death by shipwreck before the end of 1668. He is known only in his meditations: and there he appears a true, if unpolished and unambitious, metaphysical poet—painfully conscious of “sad mortality,” but an honest seeker of the light.

WILLIAM M. CLYDE.

John Locke and English Literature of the Eighteenth Century. By K. MACLEAN. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936; London: H. Milford, 1937. Pp. viii+176. \$2.50; 11s. 6d. net.

THIS book was badly needed. Every student of the eighteenth century knows that John Locke was one of the formative influences

on the mind of the century. But how far his influence extended and (more important for the literary student) to what extent Locke's ideas became transmuted in passing from the clear air of the philosopher's study to the confused and smoky atmosphere of the coffee-houses has never been the subject of a sustained enquiry. The information that we had all been waiting for is now supplied—at least in considerable measure—by this book.

When the eighteenth century's debt to Locke is thus brought together and added up, it is seen to be an astonishingly large one. A surprising number of the century's favourite ideas—the "ruling passion," the "chain of life," the association of ideas, the distinction between wit and judgment, to name only a few—can be laid at Locke's door, or derive from him at second hand. Locke, too, is largely responsible for fixing the attitude of the next three or four generations on many important problems, such as education, "enthusiasm," the limitations of human knowledge. Dr. MacLean even suggests that his philosophy may have been a levelling force that "fostered intellectual democracy," the process of equalization beginning with the denial of innate ideas. But this is surely rather a far-fetched idea. Locke, it is true, believed that the new-born infant started with a completely blank mind, a *tabula rasa*, and therefore, in a sense, all men were born intellectually equal. But elsewhere in the *Essay* he expressed the belief that some men are born with "dull organs" and are far less susceptible to sensations. If the mind of the infant is wax waiting for impressions, Locke nevertheless appears to hold that the wax may vary in quality. Nor can one agree with Dr. MacLean that Locke played any considerable part in the development of "sensitivity." Occasionally, indeed, the author seems to find the influence of his hero at work where most readers would detect only something more general—the spirit of the age. Thus Locke is given credit for "the celebrations of the common man in the poems of Gray and Burns"; and different expressions of his *tabula rasa* theory are traced in such phrases as "the rude uninformed mind of a girl" in *Tom Jones*, or "Where Ignorance is bliss" in Gray's *Ode*. Dr. MacLean here is painfully aware that he is on dangerous ground. "It is rational to suppose", he admits, "that a man might consider children ignorant without ever weighing the problem of innate ideas." It is, indeed. Dr. MacLean has so much interesting and convincing evidence of Locke's influence on the eighteenth century—particularly on

Addison, Thomson, Richardson, and, above all, Sterne—that one wishes he had not weakened the force of it by occasionally stumbling over mole-hills.

At times, too he is content with a rather superficial comment upon the facts he has collected. After referring to Addison's *Spectator*, No. 417, and to the famous passage in *Rasselas* where Imlac discusses poetry, he observes: "In each case a careful observation of external objects is recommended as a preparation for writing. Apparently the last thing that would have occurred to the eighteenth-century poet was to look into his heart and write." The inference is not, of course, justified; both Addison and Johnson were recommending observation to the poet because it would furnish him with a copious supply of poetical *decoration*. But though there are signs that Dr. MacLean's knowledge of the eighteenth century is as yet more extensive than intimate, he has written a most useful study, and has thrown light on the whole period of his survey.

JAMES R. SUTHERLAND.

Samuel Johnson's Prefaces and Dedications. By ALLEN T. HAZEN. New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Oxford University Press. 1937. Pp. xxiv+257. 14s. net.

THE literature of the Johnsonian canon is extensive and scattered. Dr. Powell in his revision of Hill's *Boswell* has included a mass of evidence, of his own discovery or collected from elsewhere. The Oxford Bibliographical Society has included in its programme for 1938 a Supplement to Courtney's Bibliography, in which the author of the study now under review has generously collaborated with his reviewer. The concern of this supplement is mainly with physical bibliography.¹ Questions of attribution are treated incidentally or by implication. Johnson's contributions to periodicals are not in general considered.

A systematic study of the canon is an indispensable preliminary to that edition of Johnson's Works which is one of the major desiderata of scholarship. To this Mr. Hazen has made a notable contribution. His book is not merely a bibliography—in every

¹ Mr. Hazen uses the term *descriptive bibliography*, which I believe I have promoted; but it is not satisfactory. One may describe the content of books or their merits and defects, as well as their material constitution. Would *physical* be acceptable? Geographers distinguish physical from political or "human" geography.

sense—of the Prefaces and Dedications ; it is also a critical edition of these texts, which it is a great convenience to have so collected. His primary object was bibliography. He has been brought up in the strictest American school, and he has the true bibliographer's zeal, for whom every fresh copy has a fresh thrill of curiosity. This is the sacred rage which has conducted him through the libraries of Britain and America, and has opened for him more copies of Kennedy's *Astronomical Chronology* than, perhaps, had been opened for a century. Thanks to his good offices, I have a copy, which I have even collated ; but it was he, not I, who saw that the last leaf, Zzzzz, is a cancel. Why ? Because Johnson contributed a concluding paragraph, which no doubt replaced something inferior. This Boswell knew ; but Boswell could point only to " internal evidence " ; we now rely on a different intimacy.

It is one of the virtues of bibliography that in the proper hands it leads the searcher to discoveries more important than those he intends. Mr. Hazen's clues have led him to many finds, in his own phrase " pertinent but obscure." His book is learned and his learning is relevant.

Johnson contemplated but he did not produce a collected edition of his works. He authenticated a few minor pieces by including them in books which, though they did not bear his name, were anonymous only in form. This does not take us far. Our earliest secondary authority is Tom Davies's *Miscellaneous and Fugitive Pieces* (1773-4). Unhappily this collection was unauthorized, indeed " impudent," and in its third volume included some pieces notoriously not Johnson's.

But Johnson, if he never made a list, was not unwilling to answer questions. Boswell is our best authority. He prided himself on spotting Johnson's hand, and was a good spotter. But Boswell was not a bibliographer and did not spend his days in libraries. His list is, as he knew, far from perfect ; and he made some mistakes. There is other early evidence. Mrs. Thrale and Fanny Burney made notes. The authors, editors, or publishers of books in which Johnson had a hand sometimes let it get out. Thus the *Works* edited by Sir John Hawkins in 1787, and supplemented (1788-9) by two further volumes, contain a large number of minor pieces and have few false attributions.

The evidence varies in weight, and is sometimes contradictory. The chief reason for this lies in the inveterate confusion, of which

Mr. Hazen cites many examples, between a preface and a dedication. These are different kinds, but both are expository and commendatory, and Johnson wrote many of both. The most accurate of us would confess that if we write without book we are liable to the confusion. Memory is taxed not only by this alternative but also by the existence of Johnsonian, or possibly Johnsonian, Proposals, newspaper advertisements, and introductory paragraphs not formally separated from the rest of the book.

When all the witnesses have been heard, a great deal depends on two criteria—external probability and internal evidence. The known reliance on Johnson's help of Baretti, of Mrs. Lennox, of John Hoole, creates a presumption that any dedication of theirs was supplied by Johnson; if the style proclaims it not theirs, the presumption is heightened; if the style declares it his, the presumption is advanced to certainty.

There is probably no English prose writer to whom the test of style has been applied with greater confidence than it has been applied to Johnson. But Boswell warned us that we must be careful. Johnson's style was freely imitated and some of the imitations were good. I have to confess that I once took the *Adventurer* on a day's outing—being then ignorant of the key furnished by initial signatures—and by the end of the day was at a loss to tell Hawksworth from Johnson. Often, indeed, a sentence is overwhelmingly affirmative; oftener, I think, a single phrase is damningly negative. But a colourless paragraph may leave a cautious critic unwilling to decide. It is, moreover, necessary to distinguish the marks of Johnson's early, middle, and late styles. The scholastic stiffness of his early bookworm days¹ is very different from the armchair eloquence of the Great Cham.

Mr. Hazen is still a young man, and his preface shows that he knows the difference between even the best prentice work and the product of maturer judgement. I am sure he will forgive me if I suggest that his sense of Johnson's style will become nicer as his palate becomes more practised.

The question is difficult and important, and I do not scruple to explore it at some length. I take a complicated case, that of Fordyce's *Sermons to Young Women*, 1766. The *Memoirs of*

¹ A good example is the preface to the third volume of the Harleian Catalogue, which Mr. Hazen finds not distinguished and unnecessarily long, and therefore doubts.

Johnson (1785) ascribed to William Shaw contain the statement that the sermons "were shown to Johnson and published by his advice. He even interested himself so far in the work as to write the title¹ and advertisement." Shaw does not give his authority, which was more probably Fordyce than Johnson. In the context, *advertisement* should naturally mean what is now called a preface. But Mr. Hazen thinks that the word was also used of notices in newspapers, and he is right (an example is on p. 212). He has found such a notice :

This day are published . . . *Sermons to Young Women* : Being a series of free but affectionate addresses, in which their instruction is attempted, as well in the accomplishments that will adorn their sex, as in the virtues that will promote their happiness.

Mr. Hazen thinks it "quite likely" that Johnson wrote this. Surely not. The distinction, or parallel, of *sex* and *happiness* is hardly Johnsonian ; and "free but affectionate" is vague, if not silly. If I am right in rejecting this "advertisement," Mr. Hazen may breathe more freely in attributing the Preface to Johnson. But he is otherwise embarrassed ; for in later editions Fordyce altered the second of the three paragraphs of which it consists. Perhaps he would not have ventured this if it had not been his own. The changes may indicate that "Johnson's contribution was limited to the first and third paragraphs." The first is as follows :

The corruption of the age is a complaint with many men who contribute to increase it. In like manner, the inattention of the people is a complaint with many preachers who are themselves to blame. A dull discourse naturally produces a listless audience ; there being few hearers who will attend to that by which their hearts are not engaged, or their imaginations entertained. To entertain the imagination chiefly, is a poor, and indeed a vicious aim in a preacher. To engage the heart, with a view to mend it, should be his grand ambition. Any farther than as it may prove some way or other subservient to that, entertainment should never be admitted into a Sermon. There, to say the truth, we seldom meet with too much of the latter. Would to God we often met there with more of the former !

The first two sentences I should pass, though the second ends lamely (*to blame* does not correspond, in the Johnsonian manner, with *to increase it*), but that I do not like *with*. The third sentence

¹ This, Mr. Hazen says, "can only refer to the title of the book." But since that consists of the words "*Sermons to Young Women*" and no more, "wrote the title" seems an unusual expression. I suspect that "title," or "title and advertisement," means what is now called a prospectus—consisting of the title and something more, by way of extract or description. I am familiar with the obsolete expression "posting title" which means prospectus.

(*a dull discourse*) begins well ; but the construction *there being* is I think hardly Johnsonian. The rest of the paragraph goes rapidly from bad to worse—and an apostrophe to God ends with an aspiration for “more of the former.” The third paragraph, which I do not quote, reads to me like a bad imitation of Johnson.

Another case is the dedication to Charlotte Lennox's translation of Sully's *Memoirs*. Here we have external evidence which, at first sight clear, becomes obscure on examination. One of the early biographers, Tyers, asserted that Johnson wrote prefaces to Miss Williams's Poems, to Sully's Memoirs, to Macbean's Geography, and to Adams on the Globes. Tyers, like his betters, is using *prefaces* loosely, for one at least of these pieces (Adams) is a dedication. Since Sully has both a dedication and a preface, we are to choose. But the preface could not seriously be meant, for it is merely translated from the French original. The plot is thicker than this. Percy and Levet once concocted a list of *opuscula* and read it to Johnson, who “did not contradict it.” But when Boswell reminded him of this, he laughed and said “I was willing to let them go on as they pleased, and never interfered.” This may not have been merely whimsical ; Johnson may have had a delicacy about owning pieces which he had written for his friends ; and to deny any was to admit the rest. But Boswell put him to the question and “got him positively to own or refuse.” On the strength of this positiveness Boswell afterwards wrote to Percy : “he allowed Levet to dictate to you several errours, as for instance . . . the Preface to Sully. He corrected these errours *himself* to me.”

Mr. Hazen is willing to believe that Johnson was still whimsical or forgetful or indifferent, and when he said he had not written the Preface, meant what he said ; and that Boswell was “literal-minded” and took him at his word. But is Mr. Hazen influenced by his wish to believe that all Mrs. Lennox's dedications are Johnson's ? This one begins well :

Authors are often unfortunate in the choise of their Patrons : and Works are devoted with great solemnity, to the use of those who cannot use them, and the pleasure of those whom they cannot please.

and goes on well enough. But it breaks down :

A Book, thus filled with political wisdom, could be fitly offered only to Him [the Duke of Newcastle], who lays out his whole time and attention, in labours of the same tendency ; and for the service of a more free, and therefore a nobler People.

That Providence may co-operate with your endeavours ; and that your Grace may steer not only safely, but triumphantly, through every difficulty of the present conjuncture, are wishes so natural to all true Britons, that they cannot be thought improper even from a woman, and in this public manner.

If this is Johnson's, he was sadly hurried (as, in 1756, might be) or was off colour. I should like to think that he disowned it.

The Rev. Thomas Maurice in 1779 published a volume of Poems " with a free translation of the *Œdipus Tyrannus*." Johnson contributed a preface, not to the book as a whole but to the translation. Mr. Hazen would like to believe that he also helped Maurice with the dedication to the *Duke of Marlborough*. But is the dedication as good as Mr. Hazen thinks it ? Would Johnson use a Latin tag (*stupet in titulis*) in a dedication ? The dedication has two subjects—Sophocles and the Duke of Marlborough. In so far as it deals with the Duke's virtues (which " excite in the breast of every good man the sublimest satisfaction ") it is like other dedications ; in so far as it deals with Sophocles, I suggest that it is derived from Johnson's preface. " This great master of tragic writing and morality " is not a striking phrase ; but it may have been taken from the preface, where Johnson had written of the *Œdipus* " Of tragical writing it has ever been esteemed the model and the masterpiece," and " the philosopher is exercised in the contemplation of its deep and awful morality."

On the other hand, Mr. Hazen seems needlessly sceptical in doubting the Johnsonian authorship of the preface to William Payne's *Game of Draughts*. Boswell says that Johnson acknowledged both the dedication, which he quotes (" Triflers may find or make anything a trifle "), and the preface. Both were included in volume XIV (1788) of the *Works*. There seems to be no external evidence against the preface, though Chalmers did not reprint it. To Mr. Hazen it appears " very doubtful, especially the last paragraph." This, which is technical and names exponents of the art, " my intimate and worthy friends," is no doubt Payne's, or mainly his. But I find nothing amiss in the paragraphs preceding. " I have here given a collection of the most artful games, the most critical situations, and the most striking revolutions that have fallen within my notice." The choice of terms, especially *revolutions*, seems eminently Johnsonian.

Mr. Hazen rightly accepts the dedication to Payne's *Geometry* as

Johnson's, though there is no external evidence. The dedication to his *Trigonometry* might, I think, have been written by almost any trigonometer.

A good example of Mr. Hazen's acumen is his discovery that Johnson wrote the preface to Fresnoy's *Chronological Tables* (1762). His first *aperçu* was a possible connection between the talk at the Mitre, July 14, 1763, when Johnson "would not advise a rigid adherence to any plan of study," and Boswell's letter to Temple two days later: "I mentioned Fresnoy to him. But he advised me not to follow a plan." The translation of Du Fresnoy by Thomas Flloyd was then a recent book, and it contained a "short method of studying history, and a catalogue of books necessary for that purpose."

This proved nothing; but it sent Mr. Hazen sleuthing after Fresnoy and the advertisements, in one of which the book was proclaimed to be "Recommended by Samuel Johnson." This is good evidence that Johnson wrote the preface, and the style confirms the attribution.¹ But I see no reason for thinking that Johnson "may have revised" the dedication, which seems to me to be in Flloyd's own pedestrian manner.

Johnson's occasional pieces contain much of his best and most characteristic writing, and the subject has been neglected.

R. W. CHAPMAN.

The Magic Plant: The Growth of Shelley's Thought. By CARL GRABO. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press; London: Oxford University Press. 1936. Pp. viii + 450. \$4.00; 18s.

THE exaggerations of the dust-cover are not quite fair to the author, for it must be a peculiarly simple faith that is not perturbed by claims to discover "the real Shelley" and to describe "his life-in-thought, the history of his mind." These things will not be revealed until all things are revealed, and Professor Grabo does not pretend to prophetic inspiration. The object of the book is clearly explained in the Preface. Looking round upon the conditions of the present day the author sees that the world is divided between two contending schools of thought, one proclaiming the subservience of the individual

¹ Schoolboys "ought to be acquainted with the great revolutions of the world, and enabled to have, from its source, the stream of succession to the present time" (p. 89). For *have read trace*.

to the State, the other asserting the right of private judgement to decide what loyalty is due to external authority. Professor Grabo, who makes no secret of his own convictions, is profoundly interested in Shelley because he finds in him an exponent of the principle that "the state exists for the individual, not the individual for the state." He feels, he says, "for the recognition of Shelley's greatness the passionate concern which he felt for the recognition of ideas needful for the regeneration of the world; and the same impatience with a world blind to him as to them."

So far we have no difficulty in understanding the position assigned to the hero, though opinions may differ as to Shelley's fitness to occupy it. Professor Grabo is on more controversial ground when, after remarking that "Shelley would have us obey only the divine promptings within us", he adds in the next sentence, "He is the greatest of Protestants among modern poets and thinkers." It happens that Professor R. W. Chambers concludes a recent book with words which reinforce Professor Grabo's argument, though not its application to Shelley. Upon the question, says Professor Chambers, "whether we place Divine Law in the last resort above the Law of the State—depends the whole future of the world."¹ Professor Grabo would certainly agree. But it is not the career of a great Protestant which suggested that reflection to Professor Chambers; it is the career of St. Thomas More. Is Professor Grabo prepared to maintain that Henry VIII, the "greatest of Protestants" in the political world of his day, sent More to the scaffold in order to vindicate the sanctity of "the divine promptings within us"?

To the reader whose interest has been excited by the Preface it may be disappointing to find in the book itself but few signs of missionary zeal. The tone is calmly didactic and mildly authoritative. The order of discussion is strictly chronological, and there is enough of the atmosphere of the lecture-room to keep us constantly reminded of the author's professorial title. Professor Grabo is at his best in those passages where the turn of the discourse leads him to moralize and generalize from his own experience of life. The expulsion from Oxford, about which he refuses to lash himself into fury, leads him to observe that even to-day "undergraduates are in some American universities expelled for a too vociferous advocacy of Communism" (p. 30). He makes excuses for the blindness of

¹ *The Place of St. Thomas More in English Literature and History*, p. 118.

the reviewers and even for their malice (p. 332). He shows real penetration in arguing that "Shelley suffered at moments from a martyr complex" (p. 365), and that "the tonic which he needed was a little recognition" (p. 345). On the Lord Chancellor's decision he remarks with judicial finality that "whoever openly flaunts the conventions of society, however hypocritically these may be held, dooms himself to outlawry" (p. 415). By a curious meeting of extremes he repeats, in substance, one of G. K. Chesterton's favourite contentions¹ when he says that "only as the mind perceives the boundaries of the visible and tangible world is the invisible world intelligible" (p. 427).

All this and much more is excellent in itself, though not directly helpful to the defence of an original thesis. It must be admitted, however, that when the sense of a mission grows strong within him Professor Grabo can be provocative to some purpose. He tells us in the final chapter (p. 424) that "the ideas of the past are for the most part bad, being outworn, and society and the individual are ruled by the past, by bigotry, superstition, tradition, and custom." It is difficult to decide whether he is explaining the problem of evil in terms of time or explaining the time-process in terms of ethics, but he is certainly attempting courageously whatever it is that he is attempting. The most startling assertion of all is that the Founder of Christianity, besides being "one of the moral leaders of individualists" is also "one of the greatest of Protestants" (p. 159). This is not the place to discuss that statement on theological grounds, nor would it be helpful to suggest what might be a suitable place in which to discuss it. Perhaps Professor Grabo feels it to be a matter of trifling importance, for he appears to have large ideas of what is worthy of serious consideration. In an early chapter he speaks of the subject of one of Shelley's letters (pp. 25-6) as "merely the God of revealed religion."

It is pleasant at first sight to notice that Professor Grabo is almost innocent of the footnote habit, which so many writers seem to cultivate for its own sake; but, while we may commend the absence of that parasitic undergrowth which conventional practice leads us to expect, we can hardly be content to accept statements of fact and citations from difficult and voluminous authors without the customary references to chapter and verse. Only two such references

¹ See *Autobiography*, pp. 32-3, and the opening paragraphs of *The Superstition of Divorce*.

occur throughout the whole book (pp. 211 and 224), and in both Professor Grabo quotes himself, in earlier works, as the authority. This excessive freedom, besides being vexatious to the reader, may also have dangers for the writer, and it has led Professor Grabo into a serious error.

The numerous dogmatic statements about Platonism and its influence are so confusing and contradictory, and, for the most part, so remote from the truth, that it seemed hopeless at the first reading to attempt to make sense of them. On closer examination it is found that most of the errors "derive," as the writer would say, from a single central and fundamental error. Professor Grabo is strangely unaware that the Greek *voûs* (usually rendered in English by *intuition*) is itself a form of reason, and, in fact, the highest form. Again and again he contrasts it with reason, to the disadvantage of the latter, and for this he claims the authority of Plato. From this initial error it is an easy step to a second. Intuition, if it is something different from and independent of reason, must be closely related to imagination, and Professor Grabo follows Shelley, as he supposes, in treating the two words as interchangeable. Shelley's position, he explains, "is that of the mystic, to whom intuition surpasses reason. Shelley employs, however, as the terms of his antithesis, not reason and intuition but reason and imagination, for imagination is a more comprehensive term than intuition and connotes activity rather than passivity" (p. 352). The whole course of the misunderstanding may be traced in two sentences on the next page: "Shelley, as a good Platonist, gives to reason a subordinate place among man's mental powers. It acts at the behest of a higher, a guiding principle, which he identifies with the imagination."

The simple fact is that Plato, in the Sixth Book of the *Republic*, arranged the four faculties of the mind in a descending order of value: *νόησις* (intuitive reason), *διάνοια* (discursive reason), *πίστις* (faith, or simple common sense), and *εἰκασία* (the imaginative faculty, or imagination). To accept *imagination* as an even possible rendering of *νόησις* would be to place at the top of the scale the faculty which Plato, by deliberate intention, placed at the bottom. Professor Grabo knows of the passage in the *Republic* in a curiously indirect way, but he is evidently not aware that the relative position of each of the four faculties has any importance. He recalls from a former work of his own a quotation (not fully reproduced) from Taylor's translation of Proclus, in which "Taylor speaks of 'those

four gnostic powers of the soul discovered by the Pythagoreans, and embraced by Plato: *intelligence, cogitation, opinion, and imagination*' " (p. 224). The English terminology leaves something to be desired, but the source is recognizable. The only interest of the discovery to Professor Grabo is that the "four gnostic powers" may have suggested the "four great cataracts" mentioned in the *Revolt of Islam*, and apparently symbolic of something.

The Neo-Platonists and Neo-Platonism are mentioned almost as frequently as Plato and Platonism, which are recorded in the Index with eighty-one page-references to share between them. It appears to be true that "the distinction to be drawn between the Platonic and neo-Platonic influences is exceedingly difficult" (p. 237), and Professor Grabo has not failed to do justice to the difficulty. The following passage (pp. 147-8) is a fair specimen of the kind of tangle which the reader may unravel if he can:

Shelley has formally repudiated materialism. The universe is not wholly matter but wholly thought. The terms employed are not specially important but rather the erasure of the distinction between thought and the objects of thought. These are but names or aspects of the one reality. Platonic, too, is the importance ascribed in the mental life to imagination. To the neo-Platonists imagination is the creative power of the mind and the link between the lower understanding of man and the divine mind in which exists reality. Shelley in his more matured thought ascribes to the imagination an importance like that ascribed to it by Proclus and Synesius. In this fragment of 1815 lies then another germinal idea presumably derived from some neo-Platonic source or from some Transcendental philosopher whose thought is neo-Platonic in origin.

If anything is clear it is that the Neo-Platonists exalted "the creative power of the mind," or the imagination, as the writer believes Plato to have exalted it. That is certainly not true of Plotinus, the greatest of the Neo-Platonists; nor, in the absence of proof, can one believe it to be true of Proclus, though the latter's reverence for the symbolism of the ancient mysteries led him at times to find a certain divinity in imaginative experience. Probably Professor Grabo is thinking of some isolated passage in Taylor's translation. The sudden introduction of the minor rhetorician Synesius, who is not mentioned again throughout the book, must be explained as a momentary eccentricity. If Synesius had an original theory of the imagination, or one which brings him naturally into association with Proclus, the fact is not generally known.

The total impression left with the reader is that Shelley spent his life on a desert island with a small library of Greek authors augmented by a few scientific treatises. Apart from the special case of Godwin, who cannot be overlooked, hardly any allowance is made for the influence of contemporary thought. Wordsworth has said everything of the poetic imagination that Professor Grabo would like Plato to say when he describes it as

clearest insight, amplitude of mind,
And reason in her most exalted mood ;

and the objection—not actually so formidable as it appears at first sight—that *The Prelude* was not published in Shelley's lifetime does not apply to Coleridge's *Biographia Literaria*, which has pages of exposition tending to the same conclusion. Another example of neglect of the obvious in favour of "some neo-Platonic source" is in the very full account of Shelley's *Philosophical View of Reform* (pp. 307-19). It might have been noticed that Shelley's practical proposals, whatever may be said of his rhetoric, are exactly in accord with the Whig policy of his day. The points which emerge are that those who have the most to lose by revolution ought to be the strongest advocates of reform, that the franchise should be extended but still confined to the educated class, that the ballot is undesirable, that rotten boroughs should be abolished, and that strong measures should be taken to wipe out corruption in high places. All this agrees perfectly with Jeffrey's and Brougham's contentions in the *Edinburgh Review*. Professor Grabo observes that Shelley believed in gradual and "evolutionary" change, to be "effected by no fewer than a large minority of men sure of their end and competent to lead the majority along the path to it" (p. 319). That is true, but the next sentence spoils the effect: "This scientific philosophy links with the Platonic and neo-Platonic philosophy in its evolutionary premise, for Platonist and neo-Platonist likewise postulate a world of change, one which slowly alters in conformity to the ideal forms in the divine mind."

This is Professor Grabo's fourth book on Shelley. His fifth, if a fifth may be expected, is certain to have positive merits; it is to be hoped that it will also have the negative merit of avoiding frequent and irritating exhibitions of shallow pedantry.

P. L. CARVER.

Letters of Hartley Coleridge. Edited by GRACE GRIGGS and EARL LESLIE GRIGGS. London: Oxford University Press. 1936. Pp. xvi+328. 15s. net.

"It is not so much *what* Hartley Coleridge wrote of himself, of his contemporaries, or of literature, as *how* he expressed himself, that makes these letters so attractive." In a very real sense these words of the editors come home to the reader of Hartley Coleridge's *Letters*, which have the abiding charm that belongs to great examples of the epistolary art. In them he disburdens himself of the thoughts of the moment, grave or gay, and always with "grace and ease" which give distinction to what he writes. That is the first impression and it is not disturbed by the unconventional, "the quaint, the bizarre, and the strange", which are equally characteristic of this "dreamer set in a world of reality." Hartley Coleridge was in many respects weak, misguided, and undependable. These letters reveal that side of him too, but they reveal also a most lovable personality, full of interests, brilliant, witty, and wanting only to be happy in his own way, which was not the way of the world: "The place where in the end we find our happiness Or not at all." Happiness he did not and could not achieve: the garden of life was "thick planted indeed, but planted with forbidden fruit, and guarded by dragons," and he was haunted always by the "feeling or phantasy of an adverse destiny." No doubt this attitude may be ascribed to lack of will-power and the consciousness of failure, dating back at least to the time of his downfall at Oriel, but probably long before that. The son of S. T. C. and Sara Coleridge, brought up in the household of Southey—one need not be a psychologist to discover here the seeds which were to bring forth a disastrous crop.

Hartley, like his father, was full of plans which never materialized. He also inherited a large share of his father's genius, as well as the capacity to appreciate the greatness of others. Nothing is more attractive in him than his admiration for Southey's virtues as a man, for Wordsworth's pre-eminence as a poet. But he possesses also a strong sense of discrimination which enables him to respect Southey without mistaking his talents for genius; to admire Wordsworth's greatness without failing to observe that the "mighty genius" can become "a dull proser"; to recognize the powers of S. T. C. without allowing the eloquence of his orations to swamp and overpower the judgment which found them "full of sound and fury, signifying

nothing." And he had too, his father's need for affection, combining the desire "to be beloved" with a very real capacity for loving his family and his friends. Thus his conviction that fate had ordained that he should be solitary brought with it a sense of misery that was not lightened by his realization that he had himself to blame for his isolation. The misery "arising from the contemplation of a misspent past is often the cause of continuance in misdoing," he writes, with uncanny insight, but without the strength of will to amend. And so the tragedy moves on to its inevitable conclusion, but lit up constantly by his humour and by his frequently cheerful and child-like acceptance of his lot.

Professor and Mrs. Griggs have never performed a more useful task than in their admirable edition of Hartley Coleridge's *Letters*, which help us to understand as never before the force of his sister's epitaph on him: "Never was a man more loved in life, or mourned in death." The pity of it—that the sense of sin precluded his realization that she spoke the truth.

EDITH J. MORLEY.

Early Victorian Drama. By E. REYNOLDS. Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, Ltd. 1936. Pp. viii+163. 6s. net.

WHEN Professor Allardyce Nicoll published his history of early nineteenth-century drama in 1930 with a hand-list of plays, it seemed remarkable that anyone should have had the energy to face the whole of such an unrewarding period, and it seemed impossible that anyone should do it again. Mr. Reynolds has had the endurance to re-explore the period, or at least a part of it. His study deals with the inner decades 1830-1870, so that the later part of his volume presumably covers some of the decades that Professor Nicoll will consider in his future volumes on the later nineteenth century.

Mr. Reynolds's study is compact, selective, and accurate. He is useful on the physical conditions of the theatres and on the audiences. The criticisms of individual dramatists sometimes seem to run away into plot summaries. What would have been interesting would have been a selection of the lyrics used in the Victorian comedies and extravaganzas. Perhaps Mr. Reynolds accepts too easily the tradition which assigns the decay in drama to general conditions and to the temperament of writers who remained content with an isolation in romantic sentiment or with the consolations of

didacticism. Mr. Reynolds's own account of the nineteenth-century theatre gives the more precise causes, the theatre itself, its structure, the absence of much high intelligence in the acting profession with some outstanding exceptions among the leading figures, and the gradual separation of the actor from the interests and social milieu of men of letters. Browning may have been a bad dramatist, as Mr. Reynolds affirms, but had he found in the theatre more men with Macready's sympathies and understanding he might have stayed in the theatre long enough to learn how to write effectively for the stage.

B. IFOR EVANS.

The Place-names of Warwickshire. By J. E. B. GOVER, A. MAWER, and F. M. STENTON in collaboration with F. T. S. HOUGHTON. (English Place-name Society. Vol. XIII.) London: Cambridge University Press. 1936. Pp. lii+409. 21s. net.

THIS volume marks the second excursion of the English Place-name Survey into West Midland England and tells the story of the place-names of Shakespeare's country, of the street-names of the ancient towns of Coventry and Warwick and of the district now covered by the growth of Birmingham. In spite of modern industrial development, the two divisions of the county, the *Woodland* north of the Avon and the *Feldon* or open country south of the river, a distinction long ago recognized by Dugdale, are still clearly marked. The characteristic hamlets and isolated farms of the north form a marked contrast to the villages of the south with the abundant traces still left of the open fields that supported them. The whole history of the county has been governed by its geography and is well illustrated by its surviving place-names.

North of the Avon stretched the Forest of Arden, a huge expanse of broken, wooded country that offered few attractions to early settlers and long remained wild and uncultivated. Within this area we find Birmingham itself, one of the oldest habitative names in the county. Other early settlements are recorded, but in the main the district remained thickly wooded, and its steady clearing is marked by a large number of names ending in *-ley* and *-hay*, a type practically non-existent south of the Avon. In this southern district, on the other hand, we find most of the names indicative of early settlement, those ending in *-ham* and *-ton*.

Warwickshire seems to have been the meeting-point of three separate lines of penetration, Saxon Hwicce from the Severn valley, who settled along the Avon, Anglian Mercians from the Trent in the east, and Middle Anglians from the Nene in the south-east, the latter coming under Mercian lordship before the middle of the seventh century. There is some archæological evidence of heathen settlement, but the occupation of the county seems to have been comparatively late. Only two names provide evidence of heathen worship, a marked contrast to the series of such names in Essex and Surrey. Of these, one, *Willey*, "temple-grove or clearing," is not unequivocally established. The other, *Tysoe*, provides the first definite evidence for the worship of Tiw in England. There is no name in *-ingas* in the county; only two, Birmingham and Hunningham, in *-ingham*.

Celtic influence is slight; the English element calls for little special comment; Scandinavian influence was neither deep nor extensive and French not very great. The term *inheche* (*innage*), probably "a fenced-in area," with the uncompounded *heach*, *hitch* "enclosure of hurdles," fairly common in Warwickshire, has not hitherto been noted elsewhere. Among the field-names *pleck* and *plinge* are particularly common. Here, too, for the first time in a volume of the Place-name Society we have a treatment of such names as Echills and Nechells from O.E. *ecels*, "addition, something added," e.g. a piece of land added to an estate, and those like Eccles and the compounded Exhall, Ecclesfield, Eccleston, etc. Moorman's view that the uncompounded Eccles is from the Latin *ecclesia* borrowed by the Celts (cf. Welsh *eglwys*, etc.) is adopted, but with characteristic caution the authors are of opinion that whilst some of the compounds may contain this element, in some the first element is certainly a personal-name *Eccel*, whilst in many certainty is impossible and Exhall may be either "church-nook" or "Eccel's nook." Among other points of special interest discussed are the importance of parish and other boundaries, the Portways and the Salt-streets.

The method of arrangement to which we have become accustomed in the Society's volumes is again followed. An interesting appendix of four pages on *Folly* in place-names is included. With its lists and summaries and its valuable historical introduction, this will long be the standard book on the place-names of the county.

P. H. REANEY.

An A.B.C. of English Usage. By H. A. TREBLE and G. H. VALLINS. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press. 1936. Pp. 192. 2s. 6d. net.

THIS is an excellent little book which will not only be of great use to many, both here and abroad, who are interested in correct, or rather customary, English, but which may be, in time to come, a most valuable record of how the language was written and spoken by educated persons of to-day. One has only to imagine the existence of similar compilations in the past to realize how precious such evidence will be to linguistic students of the future! It is of course, as it must be, to some extent based on Fowler's *Modern English Usage*, but to many it will prove far more useful than its famous predecessor, the full appreciation of which often requires that the reader shall be already aware of the points at issue and shall himself have meditated on them.

The authors of the present book have the great merit of clearness and, one is thankful to observe, their work is completely free from airs of superiority and from that peculiarly detestable kind of school-masterly facetiousness in which so many writers on current forms of language seem to find it necessary to indulge.

In form the book is mainly a dictionary of difficulties and errors in speaking and writing English, and the only criticism—if it be one—that I have to bring against it is that on account of the inevitable difficulty of knowing where to look for a discussion of points which are grammatical rather than verbal, an enquirer may have a considerable search before he finds what he requires. It is possible that a kind of index of three or four pages of typical grammatical difficulties, with references to the articles under which they are discussed, might have been helpful. On the other hand, if the student has to read the book from cover to cover no harm will be done!

It seems doubtful whether in a little book of this kind it was wise to include explanations of grammatical or rhetorical terms such as "prolepsis," "hypallage," and the like, and metrical ones such as "caesura," "ballade," "blank verse" ("free verse" is not defined, perhaps because no one knows what it means!). If such things, which have really little to do with English usage, had been omitted, space might have been found for fuller discussion of some of the linguistic points dealt with. At present the authors seem at times to err on the side of brevity. For example, an incautious reader of

p. 146 might infer that "differ with" was equivalent to "differ from," whereas the former is of course only used of persons. One can say "Smith differs with Jones on this question," but not "This question differs with that." A few more pairs of commonly confused words, such as "immanent" and "imminent," "predict" and "predicate," "suppositious" and "supposititious" could have been given, and the use of "authentic" and "genuine" might have been mentioned, even if the very useful eighteenth-century distinction is not now always observed.

I doubt if the "shall and will" entry will be of much use to those who find difficulty in understanding the southern English custom. Surely by far the simplest and most helpful way of explaining this is to point out that the determining factor in the choice of the word is the attitude of the *speaker* or writer (not of the *subject of the verb*) to the event predicated. If the speaker is merely predicting a future event which is not within his own power to determine (or which he does not wish to represent as within his power) he uses "shall" in the first person, "will" in the second and third. If, however, he wishes to add to the phrase a suggestion of his own personal intention to bring the event about, as in the case of a promise, threat, or command, he uses "will" in the first person, "shall" in the second and third: as "I will certainly do it for you," "You shall have a reply by return of post," "As he behaves so badly, he shall never come here again." Consider such a phrase as "If you leave your dog with the vet, he will no doubt be quite well looked after; but if you trust him to me, he shall have a thoroughly good time" (*i.e.* I promise you that he will . . .). This rule does not cover *all* cases (there are idioms to be reckoned with!), but it covers a surprising number.

Taken as a whole the book is a thoroughly reliable, and for its size a very complete guide to current usage, though I wish that the authors had said how they consider that the noun "aerial" (in wireless) should be or commonly is pronounced, and though they are surely wrong in stating that in the noun "ally" the first syllable is universally stressed.

R. B. McK.

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BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, MANCHESTER, Vol. 22, No. 1,
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Cicero and the Roman Civic Spirit in the Middle Ages and Early
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Browning: The Poet's Aim (H. B. Charlton), pp. 98-121.

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Reim und Stabreim im Dienste der neuenglischen Wortbildung (E.
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Die Abhängigkeit frühneuenglischer Grammatiken (M. Lehnert),
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Macbeth as a Compliment to James I (J. W. Draper), pp. 207-20.

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La Poésie Contemporaine de la Nouvelle-Zélande (M. L. Muffang),
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The "Gentleman's Library" in Early Virginia: the Literary Interests
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A Note on the Marginalia (J. I. Lindsay), pp. 95-9.

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